

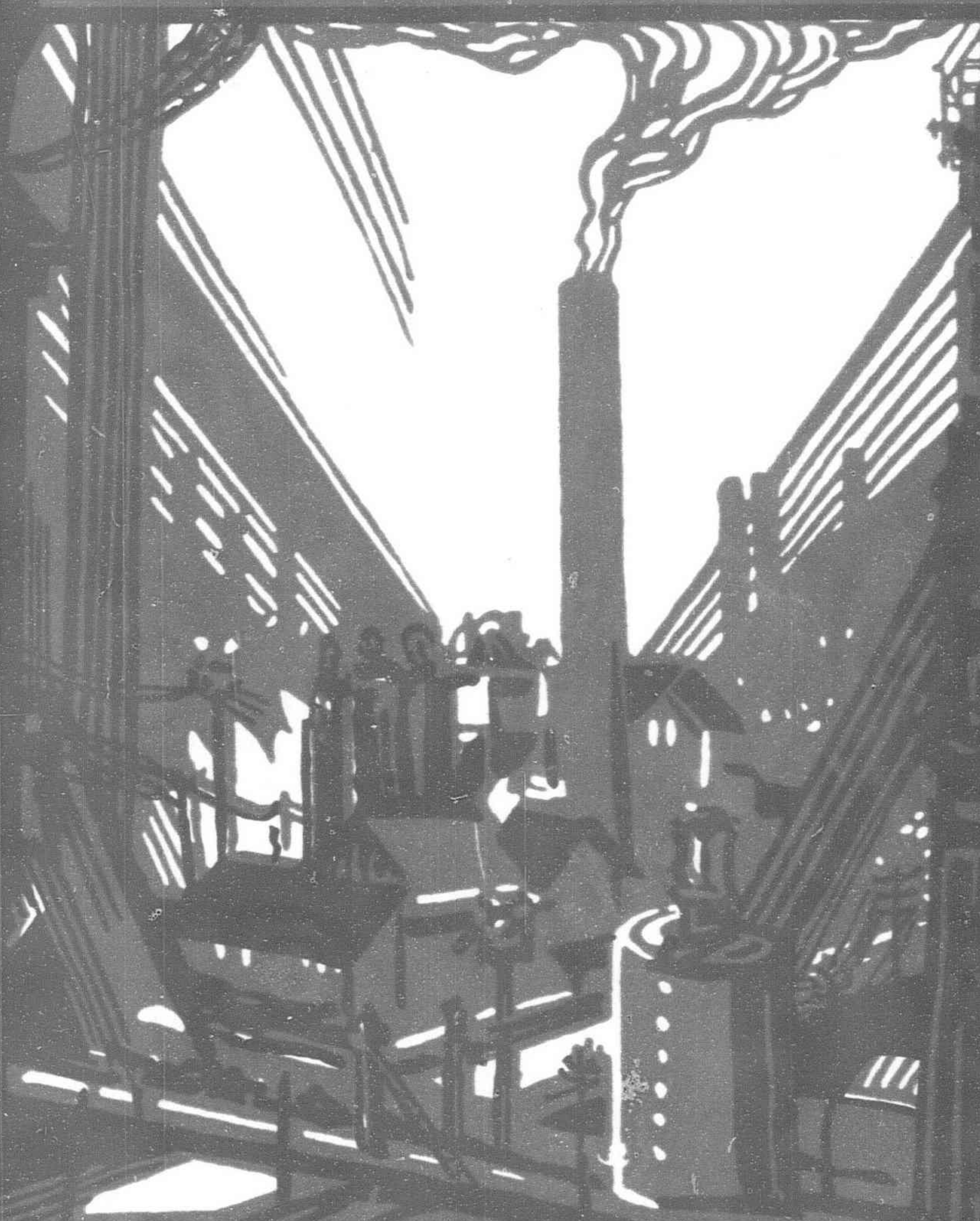
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DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

By GEORGE BRONSON REA

THE CONFLICT OF IDEALS

Vol. XXXI

DECEMBER, 1935

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SHANGHAI, DECEMBER, 1935

No. 12

The Conflict of Ideals

Must We Fight Again?

Thoughts on the War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*

By GEORGE BRONSON REA

THE war memoirs of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State in President Wilson's cabinet, reviewing the foreign affairs of the United States during the period (June 23, 1915, to February 13, 1920) when he held office, will send cold shivers down the spines of those who retain faith in the practical operation of Democracy. In the bad old days, a country's relations with its neighbors and distant lands was exclusively dealt with by the Head of the State, Emperor, King or President, as the case might be, acting through or in conjunction with a personal employé styled Minister of State or Minister of Foreign Relations. They alone devised policies, conducted diplomacy and made the wars the stupid people were expected to fight and pay for. This was called Autocracy and, because it existed in parts of Europe and we believed it responsible for the World War, we were told that it was our highest duty to ourselves and to Mankind to go over there and make the world safe for Democracy, so that never again could one man or group of men plunge a nation into war without its consent.

It seems only yesterday when Woodrow Wilson toured the country (1916) and exultingly told the people of America how he had kept them out of war and, that if reelected, he would adhere to the same sane program. Yet one month and three days after entering upon the duties of his second term, he had us in the war he was pledged to keep us out of. Of Woodrow Wilson's honesty, sincerity and high purpose, there can be no doubt. Even those who did not agree with his policies never impugned his motives, good-faith or integrity. But the cards were stacked against him by his Secretary of State who had drafted the policy of the nation on his own responsibility. Mr. Lansing's memoirs reveal that while President Wilson was busily engaged in writing comforting letters to American mothers assuring them that their boys would not be sent overseas to the sacrifice, his personal representative in the State Department had already made up his mind that we had to get into the fight and was preparing public opinion for it.

The Memorandum which Mr. Lansing drafted for his own guidance on July 11, 1915, the day following his appointment to the portfolio of State, is a remarkable document, opening the eyes of the American people as to how the judgment of one man, not elected by their votes, can override their mandate. Mr. Lansing had convinced himself that a German victory or even a draw would consolidate and perpetuate the power of the military oligarchy which would then prepare to renew its attack on Democracy. "It would", he says, "probably endeavor to sow dissensions among the nations with liberal institutions and seek an alliance with other governments based to a more or less degree on the principle of absolutism. The remedy seems to me to be plain. It is that Germany must not be permitted to win this war or to break even, though to prevent it this country is forced to take an active part. This ultimate necessity must be constantly in our minds in all our controversies with the belligerents. American public opinion must be prepared for the time which may come when we

will have to cast aside our neutrality and become one of the champions of democracy".

And all the time his Chief, elected by the people and in whom they placed their trust and confidence, was doing his best to merit the faith reposed in him. With a Secretary of State holding these views in charge of our foreign relations and an Ambassador at London so committed to the British cause as to disqualify him for the higher post vacated by Bryan, and with a colleague in the War Department with his own peculiar ideas of Democracy, what chance had Wilson to keep his pledges? The memoirs of Page and Lansing are now in the record. We were also permitted a glimpse of the psychology of Mr. Newton D. Baker, Wilson's Secretary of War, in his Foreword to the book of General Graves, entitled *America's Siberian Adventure*, in which, in justification of this one-man war, he says; "even the soldiers of a Democracy cannot always understand the reasons back of strategic situations. Political and military reasons are worked out in Cabinets and general staffs and soldiers obey orders".

So Much for Democracy!

And that evidently was the spirit of a Democratic Administration which, in the face of a great emergency, arrogated to itself the exclusive right to dictate the policy of a nation in direct contradiction to the wishes of a people who confided their welfare and happiness to its care. What could public opinion do against such theories of government? If the intimate diaries of our leaders written during these war years, convey any lesson to the American people, it is that in the event of another great emergency, no one man or group of men belonging to one political party, should be permitted to decide the issue without calling into its councils the best brains of the opposition and, should it then be determined that recourse to war was unavoidable, the conduct of the government during the state of emergency should be entrusted to a national or coalition government, representative of the whole. Had Wilson followed such a course, instead of attempting to impose his will upon the Senate, the world might long since have been well along the road to universality.

We wonder now what it was all about? Why the sacrifice? The American people elected Wilson on a specific platform to keep them out of war. When we read Mr. Lansing's memoirs and remember Mr. Baker's conception of the special prerogatives of cabinets without consultation with the general staffs, we have cause to be uneasy, skeptical and suspicious. We went into the last war to make an end of Autocracy and riveted its yoke more firmly on the people of Europe. The evidence keeps piling up that the American people had no more voice in determining their own fate than the peoples living under another and more open system of Autocracy on the other side of the Atlantic. The sacrifice has been in vain.

*War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

In Mr. Lansing's Memorandum, we see the old Holy Alliance in reverse action. While Metternich sought to suppress all Democratic movements by force, so Democracy, one century later, went on the war-path gunning for Autocracy. If defense of political creeds and ideals are sufficient justification to plunge a nation into a war which did not otherwise vitally concern it, how can we now object when our pacific and humanitarian friends in Moscow, overflowing with the milk of human kindness and brotherly love, proclaim the supremacy of a new and more advanced conception of Democracy and their intention to implant and uphold their ideals throughout the world by force? If, contrary to the express wish of the people of the United States and in violation of the pledge given by Wilson to the people of the country, Robert Lansing, his Secretary of State, with no direct responsibility to the people, could set aside and ignore this mandate and make up his own mind that the United States had to get into the war to save Democracy in Europe, certainly jovial Commissar Litvinov, his heterodoxical counterpart in the ochlocracy of Moscow, cannot be unduly censored if he now shapes his diplomacy to make Europe and the world safe for Communism while Kalanin and Stalin swear by all that is holy or unholy in their creed, that their concern is solely centered on the future of Communism in the "Single State".

And What About Asia?

And what is more important is this. If the American Government was warranted in going to war to defend its institutions and political ideals, even when the menace was far removed and uncertain, have we not created a precedent that other nations may appeal to in justification of similar acts? In explanation of her activities in Manchoukuo and now in North China, Japan invokes the right to preserve her institutions and her existence as a nation against the spread of Communist influence in Eastern Asia and is shaping her diplomacy, building up her defenses and preparing the minds of her people to meet this danger. Here we have a case where the danger actually exists. It is real. It is imminent. It is right next door. It would seem ironical, if not arbitrary and presumptuous, for the United States to sit in judgment on her actions and deny to her the right to defend herself against what she has every reason to fear as a real menace. For the United States Government to insist upon its point of view, merely aligns it on the side of Communism and against a system of Constitutional Monarchy no different in principle and practice from the Democracy of the Crowned Republic we went so blithely to war in 1917 to help preserve.

Behind Mr. Lansing's deep concern for the principles and triumph of Democracy is a study in ultra-anglophilism which, when considered in connection with the record of Ambassador Page, conveys to us how far we have yet to go before we develop a national consciousness that will produce one hundred per cent American statesmen and leaders to guide our destinies and displace the amateurs, demagogues, snobs, cookie-pushers and their like, who accept without question the discreetly conveyed opinions from another country as a basis on which to erect our policies and shape our diplomacy. This spiritual link between Lansing and Page found its counterpart in the bond between Lansing and Reinsch. As the Washington-London *entente* plunged the nation into a war it had voted to be kept out of, so the sentimental set-up and unity of purpose between Washington and Peking, adroitly manipulated and guided by the same Master-Minds, had all the plans drawn up—even to a secret draft alliance between the United States and China—to send us to the slaughter in the Pacific immediately peace with Germany was concluded. And where pure sentiment and a puritanical passion to reform the world may have guided our diplomacy in the Big Adventure in Altruism, the evidence seems to point to somewhat different impulses in the Pacific. Here we saw the father-in-law and erstwhile law partner of the Secretary of State, officiating in Washington as the Counsellor to the Chinese Government, while in Peking we had a Minister who severed his connection with his own Government to accept the post of High Adviser to the Chinese Government and whose letter of resignation to President Wilson called for a showdown with Japan.

That we were not railroaded into war with Japan is due solely to a sudden change in administration and the convoking of a conference which postponed the issues for a decade or so. "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*". But the record remains. On the precedents which form part of that record, on the official correspondence

of that date, on the opinions and memoranda of these officials are based our present Far Eastern diplomacy, while the disciples who imbibed the rudiments of the game under their tutelage are now in charge of our diplomacy. The facts cannot be set aside. Conflicting deductions can be drawn from them, but the outstanding fact will remain that the same sentimental gush that pushed us into the World War will, unless a change is made in our methods and outlook, land us in another mess.

What of the Present?

Have we the right to ask if we are once more being deceived? No one questions or doubts the sincerity, the honesty and high-mindedness or impugns the motives of the man who now directs the foreign affairs of the United States. No higher or finer type of American ever held that office. No matter now much we may entertain a legitimate difference of opinion on certain aspects of Far Eastern problems, we have the utmost faith in and the deepest respect for the statesman now at the helm of the State Department. He also is committed to peace. His policy is to avoid being drawn into war and to use his great influence towards the prevention of war. We subscribe to his theory that as long as peace obtains, problems that now seem difficult of solution will solve themselves automatically with the course of time. Will this common-sense conception of diplomacy be applied to Far Eastern issues?

Unmistakable evidence seeps out of Washington that as long as F.D.R. is President of the United States he does not intend to have his policies and will thwarted by understrappers, no matter how high their rank. Whatever may be his thoughts on Far Eastern problems he is not sticking his neck out. The record reveals that he is making no threats, uttering no protests or invidious remarks calculated to create resentment in Japan. Apparently, he is adhering to the motto of the Rough-Rider predecessor, saying nothing, but sawing wood. A sidelight on what he has to contend against is found in one of Drew Pearson's recent sketches in "Washington Merry Go-Round" in which he describes the sharp difference of opinion between the President and his State Department on the question of neutrality. According to Pearson, the career men and the Chief of the Far Eastern Division advocated delay in issuing the Neutrality Act until they could get discretionary powers from Congress to throw the weight of the United States against the aggressor nation. Roosevelt, however, soon put an end to their hesitation and ordered the arms embargo proclaimed immediately.

"After issuing this one proclamation Saturday night, the State Department stalled again. Roosevelt had suggested (which from the President is tantamount to an order) that the second proclamation, in regard to travel on Italian shipping, also be issued immediately. But the State Department did nothing. Finally on Sunday, a crisp message came from the Houston. In effect, Roosevelt said; Where is that second neutrality proclamation? This was something not even the State Department could ignore. It radioed Roosevelt the text of the proclamation. He sent it back with his O.K. It was published Sunday afternoon".

Whether or not all this stalling to await further powers from Congress which might serve later as a precedent to be applied in a Far Eastern crisis arising out of some co-operative movement with the League to enforce its verdict on Japan, is a matter for conjecture. For those who desire to construe it that way, it conveys its own story and warning.

The United States has been at loggerheads with Japan for over two decades. We have watched this feeling of antagonism grow since 1905 and could almost put our finger on its causes. We have wantonly alienated the affections of a people who have always looked up to us as their mentors and who, even now, after all that has passed, stand with their hands outstretched in friendship ready to forgive and forget the mistakes that have almost led to a parting of the ways. We, however, turn our backs on them and adhere tenaciously to our right to sit in judgment on their acts, interpret our contracts according to our own interests, and insist that Japan has violated certain treaties and admonish her from time to time that we will call her to account. Veiled threats come through the ether of disastrous consequences in store for Japan.

A British Viewpoint

The other day an Englishman of some prominence, asked me to read a little book he sent to me. It was entitled *Common Sense*

in *Foreign Policy* by Sir Harry Johnstone, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., published in 1913 by Smith, Elder & Company of London. In the chapter on "Britain and America" where it referred to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, I found the following lines underscored:

"We did this in the middle of the nineteenth century with the idea of not only conciliating the United States, but of encouraging that growing Power to consider herself bound by the famous Clayton-Bulwer treaty never to acquire territory or exclusive influence in any part of Central America. This treaty (concluded in 1850) was observed by the United States as long as it was convenient. When it became inconvenient, great pressure was brought to bear upon Great Britain to cancel it, so as to leave the United States a completely free hand in Central America west of the confines of the Republic of Colombia Treaties, in fact, only bind the polity of the United States as long as they are convenient. They are not, really, worth the labor their negotiation entails or the paper they are written on. It is well that this position should be realized, as it may save a great deal of fuss and disappointment in the future."

The author then goes on to discuss the possibility of an Anglo-American union or alliance springing from a deep-seated community of interests and says,

"But such an alliance will never be written down, nor will it ever be possible to force the United States to do anything it does not wish to do, even to the keeping of its pledged word."

The United States is the only nation in the book held up to such obloquy, though the author said many hard things about the others. Written just previous to the War by one of England's foremost colonial administrators, high in the confidence of his Government, and an acknowledged authority on its foreign policy, his words reflect the then prevailing British official and public opinion of our morality. At that moment, feelings between the two nations were embittered over the Panama Canal Act of August, 1912, which the British Government protested as a breach of the Canal Treaty of 1901.

Had it not been for the Mexican imbroglio, resulting from Wilson's adventure in high international morality in attempting to dictate how the Mexicans should run their government, and the greater fear that Japan might challenge us at any moment, Wilson could never have influenced Congress to repeal the Canal Act. When his Message was read it disclosed that he was up against a proposition he dared not reveal to the people. He asked for the repeal of the Canal Act so he could "deal with other matters of even greater delicacy." Had not Congress conceded his request, the United States would have been in the same position in regard to treaties as Japan finds herself to-day.

We placed our own interpretation on the Canal Treaty and Congress enacted laws in contravention of its plain terms. We showed the same disregard of other people's sensibilities when we abrogated our treaty with China of 1868, which conceded to the Chinese the right to immigrate to the United States. In their hearts, the Chinese still hold it against us. We acknowledged the justice of the British contention, not as a matter of right, but because we needed their support in Mexico and, what was more urgent and important, we desired to block the war-loan that Japan was reported to be seeking on the London market. Mr. Bryan, our Secretary of State, even made a special visit to California to plead with the Governor and Legislature of that state to soft-pedal the landownership legislation then under consideration which discriminated against the Japanese.

Those were rather strenuous days for our diplomacy and we were forced through the pressure of circumstances to live up to the spirit and letter of our agreement with Great Britain. Yet it is well to recall that a large and influential element in our country were bitter against Wilson for giving in and surrendering a right deemed essential to our conception of sovereignty and security. That feeling still exists in many quarters.

A Matter of History

Does any American who now so loudly berates Japan for her failure to abide by treaties which deny her right to self-defense, recall our own first treaty of alliance with France signed on February 6, 1778, by Franklin, Deane and Lee and ratified by Congress in May of that year? This was the first and only treaty of alliance ever made by the United States and committed us to make common

cause with France in the case of a rupture between that country and Great Britain.

We gladly accepted the aid of France to win our independence yet within the decade when she was again fighting England, we repudiated our pledge, giving as an excuse that we were weak, recovering from exhaustion and wanted peace. That was the way we treated the nation whose aid made possible our own existence as an independent state. We had our reasons. They seemed good enough for us and we broke our plighted pledge without the slightest scruple. We started on our career as a nation with the stigma of a treaty-breaker hanging over us. Yet who would accuse us of wrong-doing? We were not penalized for our breach of faith. Our punishment is our own conscience. France had a good case. Britain had an even better one. How would we have felt then and subsequently had France first and then Great Britain openly and officially stigmatized us as a treaty-breaker, presented their side of the case to the world and marshalled opinion against us?

The years roll by. We have attended camp-meeting and seen the Great Light. We have been converted from our evil ways and stand forth in shining white, but the spoils of our past misdeeds bulge from our pockets. This is reformation without restitution. We forgive ourselves our own trespasses, mount a pedestal of dazzling marble, wrap around us a cloak of sanctity, place a halo around our heads and set ourselves up as Supreme Judges of the World, pronouncing sentence upon other nations who stray from the path of rectitude. We confidently expect that other peoples, widely separated from us by race, culture, religion, tradition and methods of thought, have arrived at that same level of development that enables them to see things from our point of view. We overlook that other peoples with different philosophies have the same capacity for analysing problems of right and wrong and arriving at sane conclusions. These conclusions cannot always harmonize with our own, so there is bound to be a clash of opinion over interpretations of the law in the same way that we got ourselves into a dispute with Great Britain and which might have led to disastrous consequences had we not receded in time. To come to the point, if we had some statesman with the vision of Theodore Roosevelt and the moral courage to admit that perhaps there is another side to these Far Eastern issues, that, after all, Japan may have the same right to invoke the law of self-preservation that we reserve for ourselves, it might go a long ways towards lessening the strain that now exists between two great nations.

Lessons to be Unlearned

For years, the American people have been told that the Open Door in regard to China is a fundamental doctrine of their Government's foreign policy. Tyler Dennett, former historian of the State Department, has debunked this myth by disclosing that the idea was conceived in England and passed off on John Hay by a clever British tactician named Hipplesley and, that it had no connection with American rights and interests.

Only the other day, John Bassett Moore, world-recognized authority on international law, former Judge of the World Court and former assistant Secretary of State, criticized the statement of Secretary Hull in which he reaffirmed support to the Nine Power Treaty by branding it as a non-national move which substitutes an "unidentified dishcloth for world service" in place of the American eagle. He also drew attention to the origins of the Open Door Doctrine as disclosed by Tyler Dennett.

"In all events, American foreign diplomacy has grown emotional at British instigation", he alleges. "Such emotional 'new neutrality', he continues, "might best be defined as a new chastity which has encouraged fornication in the hope that it might reach the stage of legalized prostitution".

To this straightforward statement must be added the remarks of Dr. Samuel Bemis, diplomatic authority of Yale University in an article published on December 10, in which he urged that the United States maintain a policy of hands off in the Orient. "American acquisition of the Philippines was a diplomatic blunder", he contended. "The United States has failed to benefit from the Open Door policy in China and would have obtained more trade there if China had been partitioned or placed under British or Japanese protection. Americans would never fight to maintain the Open Door or to protect the administrative and territorial integrity of China. Then why should we attempt to maintain it

(Continued on page 470)

Documents of American History

By GEORGE BRONSON REA

THE STIMSON DOCTRINE: WHERE WILL IT LEAD US?

BROWSING around in a bookstore in Yokohama, I pulled out from a shelf labelled "Economics" a fat volume entitled "Documents of American History", by Commager, a remarkable collection of American historical papers from the "Privileges and Prerogatives Granted to Columbus, April 30, 1492", to the "Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation" of June 15, 1934. The book is one of the "American History Series" published by F. S. Crofts and Company, New York, and edited by Henry Steele Commager of New York University. Unquestionably it is the most comprehensive and convenient compilation of American State Documents yet published, a God-send to editors and students who now have in one reference volume essential data that heretofore have required a nimble and retentive memory to know where to find needed references.

On page 405, under the title of "The Stimson Doctrine," Mr. Commager reprints as such the address by Secretary of State Stimson before the Council on Foreign Relations, February 6, 1931. The editor's foreword to the address follows:

"President Wilson had attempted to establish moral standards as a test for recognition of new governments in foreign states. This policy had involved the United States in no little embarrassment and difficulty in dealing with Latin American countries. It was abandoned by the Hoover administration, and the abandonment was formalized in this statement by Secretary Stimson. President Roosevelt has followed the Stimson rather than the Wilson policy in his dealings with foreign nations."

In view of subsequent events and the urgent necessity of looking fairly at the reasons which impelled a great Power to withdraw from the League of Nations—reasons in large measure determined by Mr. Stimson's diplomacy—his natural and normal attitude towards recognition becomes an essential part of the record. Let us therefore read what Mr. Stimson had to say on the subject in February, 1931:

.... "The practice of this country as to the recognition of new governments has been substantially uniform from the days of the administration of Secretary of State Jefferson in 1792 to the days of Secretary of State Bryan in 1913. There were certain slight departures from this policy during the Civil War, but they were manifestly due to the exigencies of warfare and were abandoned immediately afterwards. This general policy, as thus observed, was to base the act of recognition not upon the question of the constitutional legitimacy of the new government but upon its *de facto* capacity to fulfill its obligations as a member of the family of nations. This country recognized the right of other nations to regulate their own internal affairs of government and disclaimed any attempt to base its recognition upon the correctness of their constitutional action.

"Said Mr. Jefferson in 1792:

"We certainly cannot deny to other nations that principle whereon our own Government is founded, that every nation has a right to govern itself internally under what forms it pleases, and to change these forms at its own will; and externally to transact business with other nations through whatever organ it chooses, whether that be a king, convention, assembly, committee, president, or whatever it be.

"In these essentials our practice corresponded with the practice of the other nations of the world.

"The particular considerations upon which our action was regularly based were well stated by Mr. Adee, long the trusted Assistant Secretary of State of this Government, as follows:

"Ever since the American Revolution entrance upon diplomatic intercourse with foreign states has been *de facto*, dependent upon the existence of three conditions of fact: the control of the administrative machinery of the state; the general acquiescence of its people; and the ability and

willingness of their government to discharge international and conventional obligations. The form of government has not been a conditional factor in such recognition; in other words, the *de jure* element of legitimacy of title has been left aside.

"With the advent of President Wilson's administration this policy of over a century was radically departed from in respect to the Republic of Mexico, and, by a public declaration on March 11, 1913, it was announced that

"Co-operation (with our sister republics of Central and South America) is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. We hold, as I am sure that all thoughtful leaders of republican government everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law and upon the public conscience and approval. We shall look to make these principles the basis of mutual intercourse, respect, and helpfulness between our sister republics and ourselves."

"Mr. Wilson's government sought to put this new policy into effect in respect to the recognition of the then Government of Mexico held by President Victoriano Huerta. Although Huerta's government was in *de facto* possession, Mr. Wilson refused to recognize it, and he sought through the influence and pressure of his great office to force it from power. Armed conflict followed with the forces of Mexico, and disturbed relations between us and that republic lasted until a comparatively few years ago.

"In his sympathy for the development of free constitutional institutions among the people of our Latin American neighbors, Mr. Wilson did not differ from the feelings of the great mass of his countrymen in the United States..... but he differed from the practice of his predecessors in seeking actively to propagate these institutions in a foreign country by the direct influence of this Government and to do this against the desires of the authorities and people of Mexico.

"The present administration has declined to follow the policy of Mr. Wilson and has followed consistently the former practice of this Government since the days of Jefferson. As soon as it was reported to us, through our diplomatic representatives, that the new governments in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Panama were in control of the administrative machinery of the state, with the apparent general acquiescence of their people, and that they were willing and apparently able to discharge their international and conventional obligations, they were recognized by our Government. And, in view of the economic depression, with the consequent need for prompt measures of financial stabilization, we did this with as little delay as possible in order to give those sorely pressed countries the quickest possible opportunities for recovering their economic poise."

A Change of Front

On January 7, 1932, eleven months after making the above statement, in an identic note to the Chinese and Japanese Governments, Secretary Stimson promulgated a new and novel doctrine for recognizing new states.

Mr. Commager's highly valuable work omits any reference to the Stimson Doctrine of January 7, 1932, so it is well to recall its exact phraseology. He said:

.... "But in view of the present situation and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Government of the Chinese Republic and the Imperial Japanese Government that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does

it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy, and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties."

The declaration of the League of Nations on March 11, 1932, is similar to the Stimson pronouncement except that the treaty rights referred to are those embodied in the Covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris. This made the Stimson declaration universal and definitely linked the United States with the League in a dispute in Asia in which we would have declined to take sides had the dispute originated in Europe, peace pacts to the contrary notwithstanding. With Europe and Asia seething with discontent, with oppressed minorities and racial groups waiting patiently for the opportune moment to jump at each other's throats, this new conception of the Peace Pact throws upon the liberty-loving American people the obligation to come to the support of the oppressors whenever revolution or force is resorted to on the part of the oppressed or their friends to right their wrongs. It denies recognition to any new state brought into being as the result of force whether from within or without, that is to say, the same methods whereby every nation from the beginning of time has come into existence and been recognized as one of the Family.

The Peace Pact apparently has changed all this. No longer may enslaved peoples in any part of the globe invoke the principle of self-determination, no longer may they take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to shake off their shackles, no longer may persecuted minorities or oppressed sections of any country secede, declare their independence and accept help from the outside to maintain it. It is a brutal thought, but it arises nevertheless. Slaves they are and slaves they must remain, subject to despots and taskmasters, permitted to sit at the same table and stick their feet under the mahogany at Geneva, to enact laws for the preservation of their right to prey. The Peace Pact forever prohibits any interference with their prerogatives and makes impossible any amelioration of the lot of the oppressed by the only means by which history tells us such wrongs can be redressed.

Mr. Stimson's first address on recognition was delivered seven months before Japan's resort to self-defense in Manchuria. The overthrow of the bandit oligarchy and disappearance of any form of government, led automatically to the formation of a provisional autonomous regime and a declaration of independence from the rule of the Southern faction recognized by the Foreign Powers as representative of the whole. It is futile to re-examine in detail the case for or against Japan and Manchoukuo. Both nations have been adjudged guilty of violating the law. There exists no superior tribunal to pass judgment on the findings of the lower court. Its verdict stands, while sentence has been suspended pending such time as the judges decide whether or not it is safe to pronounce it and proceed to execution. This is no over-statement. There exists ample evidence to support it.

Portents of the Future

That preparations are being made to enforce respect for the League verdict cannot be ignored by any competent observer or intelligent interpreter of diplomatic phraseology, breathing peace, friendship, brotherly love, good neighborhood and all the stilted, stereotyped verbiage of a specialized profession skilled in the use of words to conceal thought. The American people would be foolish indeed to rest their hopes of peace on such statements. Even Secretary Hull, accomplished jurist and statesman that he is, is weary and peeved with these antediluvian methods and is demanding simplicity and democratic informality in documentary expression. He is credited with a healthy dislike of traditional language of diplomatic officialdom and has on occasions requested the redrafting of reports and memoranda in plain English. More power to him! If all governments would follow the same rule so the man-in-the-street can grasp what it is all about, it would

not take long to bring about a better understanding between nations. However, that is another story.

The verdict of the lower court may be shelved and sentence never pronounced. On the other hand, we may wake up some fine morning to learn that the League has decided to enforce its verdict against Japan and, by reason of the fact that an American General in active service officiated as one of the trial judges, and an American Secretary of State laid down the law upon which the verdict was reached, they will find themselves committed morally, legally and in every other way, to participate in enforcing the sentence, whether by sanctions, boycotts, blockades or their inescapable consequences. Fortunately, it will require a year or more before a showdown of that nature can be precipitated and in the meanwhile, the American people will have ample time to carefully reconsider the case.

If they are sensible they will want to know how it came about that the Nation was lured into such a mess, did it drift stern first, was it pushed, impelled from the outside or was it just plain everyday lack of horse-sense on the part of their leaders? Before arriving at any conclusion, they should delve into the records and will then realize that they are once more paying the penalty for ignoring the advice of the Father of the Country and for departing from the sane and safe rules to be followed in the recognition of new states laid down by his associates, Jefferson, Adams and Monroe.

With the single exception of President Roosevelt's recognition of Panama on the grounds of expediency, the principles enunciated by the Fathers ruled the recognition practice of the American Government up to 1913. In that year, President Wilson, in pursuit of high moral ideals and adhering to his conception of fundamental principles of constitutional government and democracy as it ought to be, set himself up as judge of the traditional Latin American pastime of disposing of dictators and thereby nearly plunged the Nation into a disastrous war with Mexico. Wilson's meddling with the affairs of our highly temperamental Latin neighbors was answered by jeers and insults, the American flag was dragged through the mud, Americans were shot down and their women outraged, an American border town was raided by Mexican bandits and Wilson found himself at war. Vera Cruz was bombarded and an American army invaded Mexico. We were in for it. Had it not been for the timely mediation of the A. B. C. Powers, the United States would have been involved in open hostilities with Mexico long before the outbreak of the World War.

Subsequent Republican administrations declined to follow the Messianic policy of Wilson and, as Mr. Stimson points out, the administration in which he officiated as Secretary of State, had definitely reverted to the saner doctrine laid down by Jefferson. That his address is recorded by Commager as one of the Key Documents of American History, would indicate that his reiteration of a fundamental American doctrine is construed as an assurance that national traditions would be upheld during his tenure of office. Yet eleven months after announcing this return to basic Americanism, Mr. Stimson suddenly and without warning promulgated an unprecedented doctrine of recognition based on the obligations of the Peace Pact and then induced the League of Nations to endorse and make it unanimous. In pledging the American Government to this new doctrine, Mr. Stimson overruled the mandate of the Nation under which his party had been returned to power, another example of muddled morals where loyalty and good faith at home is subordinated to the peculiar ideas of each new administration as to foreign policy and international engagements.

The Public Must Follow

There was nothing new in this. It is an old, old, story. The American people, deeply desirous of peace, returned Wilson to the Presidency in 1916 because "he kept us out of war" and within the month of his second term of office, he had us in the war he was elected to keep us out of! Under the slogan to "make the world safe for Democracy" he sent us over the seas to put an end to Autocracy in Europe. Yet the mandate of Democracy as voiced by the people of the United States at the only place they can register their wishes, instructed him to keep them out of just such an adventure! In these questions of plunging a people into war, one wonders where the line between Autocracy ends and Democracy begins. Under either system the wishes of the people receive scant attention. They have no voice when it comes to war.

Premier Stanley Baldwin in a recent speech before the Peace Society in London, discussing whether questions which arise from time to time between nations must be settled by force said:

"Now that question will in the end be answered not by Governments but by peoples, and before we expect unequivocal answer we must see what the answer involves. There may be Governments deliberately planning the future, leading reluctant or unsuspecting peoples into the shambles. It sometimes looks as if it were so. I confess that in my own political experience I have not encountered Governments possessed of all these malevolent qualities. Most Governments seem to be not much better or much worse than the people they govern. Nor on the whole am I disposed to conclude that the people are such an ineffective, helpless flock of sheep as those who claim to speak in their name often imply. They have in fact a way of making their opinions known and heard when they feel deeply."

Just so. It is with no desire to detract in any way from the sentiments expressed in Mr. Baldwin's splendid address which merits the applause of all right-thinking people, that we use the above quotation to dispute his theory.

The American people made their opinions known in 1916, but they went to war, nevertheless. Again, there exists a large, influential and articulate element in the United States which holds firmly to the belief that American membership in the League of Nations must inevitably lead the Nation into further wars arising over questions in Europe and elsewhere in which they are not in the least concerned. So far, this element has succeeded in keeping the country free from such entanglements, but there is another element untiring in its efforts to break down this resistance and shove us into the League. There is reason to believe that many of these pro-League enthusiasts are heavily subsidized by foreign funds. Left to themselves the people of the United States would soon settle this controversy once and for all time. They registered their wishes twice at the polls and once more last January when the Administration tried to put us into the World Court and had all the resolutions drawn up for our entrance into the League. Had not an aroused and angry American people emphatically disapproved of this sly method to circumvent their wishes, the Nation would have been in the League by March last and at war with Japan within six months. Mr. Baldwin's theory does not work out in practice. At least, not in the great and glorious Land of the Free.

The mandate of the Nation in the elections of 1919 and 1923 was clear and unmistakable. The issue then before the country was whether or not we were to become a member of the League of Nations and a thundering answer in the negative was registered at the polls. The Republican Party was committed by every obligation of political rectitude to obey this mandate. But by 1931 our Secretary of State had been adroitly maneuvered into sponsoring a universal Peace Pact which made us a "Little Brother of the League", committed to co-operate with it whenever the peace was broken.

The Peace Pact carried no sanctions. The Covenant did. Cooperation with the League through the Peace Pact pledged the Nation to support any measures the League might apply to penalize a wrong-doer. With their hopes and aspirations fixed on peace, the American people were duped by the very politicians they had elected to keep them out of the League. These same politicians then loudly condemned another nation for breaking a treaty signed on the explicit understanding that the right of self-defense remained inherent in the treaty and that each state alone enjoyed the exclusive right to define the time, the place and the opportunity to resort to self-defense.

When Doctors Disagree

The failure to define properly self-defense has given rise to a whole library of legal literature and opinions on the subject, quotations from which can be extracted to support any phase of the controversy. Although it is now conceded that the Peace Pacts could not have been signed without the implicit understanding that each state alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require war or a resort to force in self-defense, at the first test of the treaty this right was qualified by the assertion that such measures are subject to examination and possible condemnation by other states. Had this limitation on the sovereignty of states

been emphasized in the correspondence and discussions leading up to its acceptance, the treaty could never have been signed. The American Government would have been the first to reject it as incompatible with the obligations of the Monroe Doctrine, under which it still retains the right to send its armed forces, even into the Argentine, if such action becomes essential to self-defense. If self-preservation is the first law of nature and of nations, inherent and inseparable with sovereignty, and if this right is now qualified by a Pact which gives to all other Nations the right to pass judgment on resort to self-defense, the very foundations of sovereignty are undermined. Under such an interpretation, the Nations signatory to the Pact constitute a Court superior to the World Court.

A sovereign state of to-day may well fear the consequences of the morrow if it thoughtlessly allows itself to be dragged up the steps of such a tribunal only to find itself at the end of its journey before the very throne of law and its sovereign rights nullified by the mandate of the court. Great Britain and the United States were sufficiently versed in the law to understand this and protected themselves by reservations which preserve their unquestioned right to resort to self-defense in vital region without fear of having that right challenged. In this respect, they are above the law. Their reservations to the Pact elevate them to the superior bench with the power to try and condemn all other signatories who may foolishly believe that the right of self-defense remains inherent in their conception of sovereignty. As long as the United States adheres to its interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as one of self-defense, assumes the right to define the time and the place to exercise that right and rejects outside interference or investigation into the causes which impel it to act, how can it reject as illegal the right of another nation to appeal to the same interpretation of the law? It is axiomatic that an argument from a like case avails in law. In like cases, the judgment is the same. We cannot lay down a law that justifies our own actions and in the same law deny to another nation the right to take similar action.

In theory, the general principle of self-preservation or its derivative, self-defense, remains unimpaired. In practice, however, the precedent created in the case of Japan shows that it has been surrendered and that every nation—except the United States and Great Britain—must stand trial at the bar of justice presided over by the jurists of these two Powers. Exempt from criticism or censure, they become the custodians of the world's morals. No matter how impartial and fair they may try to be, it stands to reason that cases must inevitably arise where the plea of self-defense will never be admitted by such a court in the same way that the same plea would be rejected by a prejudiced jury and interested judge of a municipal court.

Just for Example

To understand this, let us suggest a situation, say in Chicago, under the rule of gangdom. Let us imagine an alien has leased a store in the district of the racketeers and refuses to pay blackmail and declares his intention to defend his property and his legal rights. The police are fully informed of what is taking place but are either unable or unwilling to interfere on the side of the law. In fact, the chief of the gangsters has corrupted the law. The police, the public prosecutor and even the judges are in his pay. The most brilliant criminal lawyers are retained to defend his underlings whenever they are unfortunate enough to be caught red-handed and jailed. The Big Shot is invariably a member of high society in good standing. It is an honor to be seen in his company. His doings and his pictures fill the columns of the daily newspapers. It is inconceivable that this polished and cultured gentleman could do wrong.

Let us return to the neighborhood and place a policeman on each corner and a squad patrolling the street, watching every move made against the alien shopkeeper. They see the gangsters enforce a boycott against his store, turn their heads while his wares are lifted, chuckle inwardly while neighborhood hatred is inflamed against him, stroll in the other direction when shots are fired or bombs thrown to wreck the store. They all know through informers of the plot to "bump him off", that sooner or later the gang will get him. Do the police do anything to protect him? Do they put a stop to boycotts and raids on his goods? No! The alien is an interloper. The color of his skin and the slant of his eyes are all wrong. He does not belong.

Then one day the little alien ventures forth out of his store, to take in the movies, let us say. A gang of five or six gunmen, awaiting just such an opportunity, saunter along behind him, smoking, laughing, singing, proclaiming to the neighborhood that they are out for a good time. To all appearances a perfectly harmless group, but the right hand of each is thrust deep into his coat pocket, with the index finger on the trigger of an automatic, waiting to approach close enough to give the alien "the works". The police are right there on the job. The windows of the apartment houses are filled with people watching the passing show in the street. The little alien hears and recognizes the jeering voices behind him. He knows what he is up against. Determined to go down fighting, he turns and opens fire on the gang, killing two or three while the others taken by surprise, turn tail and yell for the police.

Or it might have happened another way. He may have been returning home, and when near his store, sees a bomb explode in front of his property and the criminals who placed it there running away. He may kill two or three. In either case, the guardians of the law rush to the scene and see only what is before their eyes. The testimony of witnesses all agree that the little fellow deliberately and without provocation killed the poor, peaceful men out to have a good time. The alien is rushed to the police station and subjected to the third degree. He is then haled before the judge and charged with murder. His plea of self-defense is rejected, laughed out of court. All the witnesses testify that he was not menaced, that he suddenly opened fire and shot down the unarmed, innocent strollers. It is brought out on cross-examination that they belonged to a gang, but it was a nice gentlemanly mob whose chief had cautioned them never to shoot back if shot at. They must never break the law but run to the police for protection. "Put your trust in the law" was the motto of their organization. So the little fellow has no chance. He is tried, convicted and sentenced to death for exercising his right of self-defense. The judge, however, casually remarks that he may have thought he was acting in self-defense, but was not warranted in exercising it. He should have called the police to protect him. Bang, goes the gavel. The case is ended. There is no appeal from the verdict. The little alien must pay the penalty. Yet the judge, the jury, the prosecutor, the police, the witnesses, the whole neighborhood, the newspapers, all knew exactly what happened, how it happened and why it happened. They had been expecting it for weeks. They knew that if the little fellow had not unexpectedly defended himself, he would have been bumped off. They knew, but preferred the lawlessness of the gangsters and the payment of tribute to the presence of the plucky little alien who dared to do something they themselves lacked the courage to perform. The metaphor is not altogether exact, but is near enough in its essentials to point the moral.

Just a Matter of Scale

There is no difference in principle between the above hypothetical case in municipal law and the case of Japan in international law. As the individual was railroaded to the chair for defending himself against the privileged gangster, so Japan was adjudged guilty by a packed and prejudiced court for defending herself against the "chartered libertine" of Eastern Asia. No greater judicial farce was ever enacted than the process by which Japan was condemned in the face of evidence that should have absolved her of wrong-doing.

Every foreign government was accurately informed of all the details of the situation in China. They knew what was transpiring in Manchuria. They had full knowledge of the fact that the Young Marshal with an army of 400,000 veterans supported by the largest arsenal in Asia, had announced his determination to drive the 11,000 Japanese railway guards out of Manchuria. They were fully aware as to the nature and the progress of the boycotts, the seizure of Japanese goods, the violence of anti-Japanese movements, the virulence of anti-Japanese propaganda and the meaning of incident after incident in Manchuria. They knew that it was only a question of time when under protection of the law, the huge Japanese investments in Manchuria would be ruined, that all that Japan had fought so hard to obtain would be wrested from her. They all knew. They all saw. Like the subsidized coppers in the gangster's domain they made no move to interfere or to uphold the law. Japan knew that they knew what she was up against and furthermore knew that she would receive scant consideration should

she appeal to them for help. Only when Japan took the law into her own hand and the surprised Chinese who thought she would not fight, ran to Geneva yelling for help, did they evince an interest, and then only to condemn Japan and uphold China.

Well, the case has been tried and the verdict is in. Japan stands condemned. The United States will not recognize what has occurred in Manchuria as a consequence of her resort to self-defense. Japan is out of the Society of Nations but announces her determination to defend herself against any attempt to execute the sentence of the court. If I seem to stress this point, it is because those who were foremost in prosecuting the case against Japan are now active in directing world attention to the doctrine of Non-Recognition which reserves to the denouncing states the right to take such action in the future as seems proper to them to preserve intact their own rights under the treaties. In other words, the Non-Recognition Doctrine promulgated by an American Secretary of State, is now a part of international law constituting a threat which may materialize into definite action when circumstances warrant such a course. And that same ex-Secretary of State is to-day one of the most active League protagonists in the United States.

There is just one point in all this for thoughtful Americans to consider. Confident that she had acted within her rights under the Peace Pacts and conscious of having done no wrong, Japan very unwisely invited the League to send a Commission of Enquiry to investigate and report on the facts. It might be pointed out that had the decision rested with the Government of Manchoukuo, the Commission would not have been permitted to enter the new state. That it was permitted to do so, is due entirely to the pressure brought by Japan upon the authorities of Manchoukuo to grant the Commission every facility and courtesy in the discharge of its mission. The authorities of Manchoukuo labored under no illusions about the impartiality of the League Commission. Experience had demonstrated that purely political courts or investigating bodies called into being to pass judgment on purely political cases, will always obey the appointing power, discharges faithfully its instructions and pass sentence according to its interests. The findings of a court or commission appointed by the League in any dispute affecting the power, the prestige and usefulness of the League, must be in its own favor. It was not Manchoukuo that was on trial. It was the League itself.

Japan was playing fair, yet long before the Commission arrived on the ground or could form any conclusion as to the legality of Japan's acts, Mr. Stimson forestalled its verdict by promulgating a new doctrine of international law and then induced the League of Nations to make it unanimous, thus changing the law during the progress of a trial, dictating a course of action for the guidance of the Commission and influencing its findings long before the evidence was in. The promulgation of the Non-Recognition Doctrine under these circumstances was tantamount to an instruction from the judge to the jury to bring in a verdict of guilt before the case was heard.

Interpolated from the Bench

With this in the record, we find Mr. de Valera, Chairman of the League Council, solemnly arising at Geneva on September 24, 1932, to vent his righteous indignation against Japan because,

"that before the discussion of the Commission's Report, Japan has not only by recognizing, but also by signing a treaty with what is known as the Manchoukuo Government, taken steps which cannot but be regarded as calculated to prejudice the settlement of the dispute. For almost a year the Council in its collective capacity, and the individual Governments which compose it, have scrupulously refrained from uttering any word of judgment on the merits of this grave dispute, on the grounds that a Commission had been set up to investigate the dispute in all its bearings, and that, until that Commission had reported and its Report has been considered by the organs of the League, the whole question is still to be regarded as *sub judice*."

Yet the evidence cannot be set aside that the League had instructed the Commission as to how its Report should be drawn up and, furthermore, that the Commission adhering to this mandate, shaped its program accordingly and brought the full weight of its influence to bear upon the highest officials of Japan to induce them not to recognize the new State. From the very start of the dispute

not only was Japan's sovereign right of self-defense placed in jeopardy by foreign examination into her conduct but the inalienable right of the people of Manchoukuo to rebel against misrule, oppression and injustice and to set up their own form of government was callously ignored as of no consequence. The principles which underlie the conception of American liberties were denied to the thirty million people of Manchoukuo under the Non-Recognition Doctrine of an American Secretary of State, and Japan was duly warned that she must not recognize the state that had sprung up as the result of her resort of force.

Americans have the satisfaction of knowing that the world stands with them. There is a great comfort in this, as some day they may be called upon to implement the new doctrine written into international law by a Secretary of State who ignored their mandate to keep the United States out of the League and who, since his retirement to private life, has done his best to get us in.

The moral of it all is clear. Whenever we stray away from the principles laid down by those who founded our liberties and try our hand at promulgating new rules of international conduct, we invariably make a mess of it. Roosevelt broke the rule of a century and created his own law of recognition to justify his conception of what was best for the country. As a result, we have the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone but we have also the everlasting hatred of the Colombians. As long as we remain strong enough to guard and keep what we possess, this feeling of enmity will never cause us any loss of sleep, but should we ever get into a jam with another great Power and show the slightest signs of inability to hold our own, we will pay for our past mistakes. Wilson set up an entirely new recognition doctrine of his own by declaring that "no permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based on intrigue and assassination" and, furthermore, "so long as the power of recognition rests with me, the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to anyone who obtains power in a sister-republic by treachery or violence." And Wilson's adventure in high moral political principles as applied to international affairs, involved us in hostilities with Mexico. That we were not dragged into a protracted guerrilla war that would have necessitated an army of half a million to a million men and drained the nation of its resources, is due entirely to the good offices of the saner A. B. C. Powers of South America. But even in this adventure in exemplary virtue, Wilson revealed his inconsistency. The Wilsonian principle enunciated to justify our intervention in Latin American affairs did not extend to other parts of the globe. He could not recognize Huerta, but he did recognize the "Republic of China" and extend the glad hand of welcome and friendship to a group of conscienceless war-lords whose title to rule was based on intrigue, betrayals, assassinations and wholesale massacre. For, it is true to fact, that practically every government of the Republic of China from 1913 to date has risen to power upon titles which in Latin America we frown down upon as illegal.

The Pathway to Hostilities

Secretary Stimson, not to be outdone by Wilson, promulgated another new doctrine of recognition which can be enforced only by sanctions or war. We escaped hostilities with Japan for the reason that the American navy was too weak and the British navy too occupied in Europe. Mr. Stimson is now active in trying to induce the United States to enter the League where he hopes his doctrine may in due time be enforced. But if any attempt is made to do this by sanctions, by Anglo-American naval co-operation, or by any other punitive means or measures, in the present temper of Japan, there can be only one result. Once again the United States may be forced into war because our internationally-minded statesmen have ignored the lessons of the past and departed from the rules laid down by the Fathers for the guidance and safety of the Republic. The American people will have time to consider the implications of the Stimson Non-Recognition Doctrine as the situation in Europe clears and the attention of the League Powers is again concentrated on Far Eastern affairs.

History is repeating itself. If we persist in departing from the rules laid down by the Fathers for the guidance of the Republic, we must be prepared to pay the price. Only the next time we get into trouble there will be no A. B. C. Powers to mediate and save us from our folly. The whole world will combine to push us in and stand by with folded arms egging us on while we destroy ourselves.

The Stimson Doctrine heralded the new era in international politics, the transition stage from the Calvinistic outlook of Wilson on world affairs to the purely legalistic conception of responsibilities and duties enunciated by pacifist doctrinaires and ordained as law by the League. Both ideals lead the Nation into the same inevitable cul-de-sac with no escape except by a resort to arms or a loss of dignity and honor. The Wilsonian ideals as incorporated into the League Covenant and the *status quo* in Europe have created grievous wrongs that can now be righted only by force. It is irrational to contend that justice will be meted out to nations or minorities dissatisfied with their lot. Who, for instance, will come to the help of the Macedonians and relieve them of their sufferings at the hands of the Serbs? Who would dare interfere in Cuba to restore some semblance of liberty to a people ground down under the heel of a merciless dictator? Sir Samuel Hoare in his Geneva speech of September 11, declared that such "*changes will have to be made when they are really necessary and when the time is ripe, and not before. They will then have to come about by consent, not dictation; by agreement, not by unilateral action; by pacific means, not by war or threat of war.*"

But who is to decide when the time is ripe? Who can control the multitudinous agencies which make for incidents, which in turn, precipitate the larger issues? Who can regulate the tremendous human forces at work in Asia or determine when to apply measures of relief? The Italian answer to Sir Samuel's admonition is found in Daniele Varé's broadcast speech of September 16, in which he said:

"At the first meeting of the League Assembly in 1920, Tittori, the Delegate of Italy, pointed out that Italy wished to submit to the League her national problems; namely, the pacific expansion of her population, and the safe supply of raw materials. I was there at the time, and I well remember the almost offensive contempt with which other delegations, as we approached them one by one, met our efforts to have such questions put, even in a far future, on any program of the League's activities. Our suggestion was considered Utopian; a sort of economic Kingdom Come. And so it is to-day. . . . All responsible statesmen now admit in theory Italy's right to expand. But this reasonable attitude fades out like a love scene in the cinema, when we ask them to deliver the goods. And it is significant that, only when Italy laid her hand upon the sword-hilt, did anyone agree that her claims might possibly be just. Only as the sword was drawn gradually from its sheath, did the conciliatory offers become less and less ridiculously inadequate to meet the case."

The Situation that Confronted Japan

The same situation existed for many years in the Far East. The world possessed full knowledge of Japan's predicament. The Powers saw the pressure from within increasing; they knew that an explosion was inevitable unless an outlet was provided. Was anything done to avert the disaster? Could anything have been done in time to relieve Japan's necessities? It is useless at this time to speculate on whether or not Japan's appeal to the League or the Powers would have met with any consideration other than was shown to Italy, also one of the victors at Versailles.

Japan stood no chance of receiving their approval to any plan for expansion for the reason that the only territory in which she could reasonably expect to find even a partial solution to her problems was exempt from outside interference by the existence of a treaty guaranteeing respect for its territorial and political integrity and independence. And yet over this territory she had fought two victorious wars. Its soil is watered by the blood of her heroes, its resources developed with the hard-earned savings of her people. For years, its prosperity has depended almost entirely on the influx of new Japanese capital while the benefits from these investments flowed in a steady stream to the homes of the laborers in North China. Not until circumstances compelled her to resort to force to defend her property and as a consequence of which, the territory was without law and order and the people set up their own government and allied themselves with Japan, did the Powers or the League evince any interest in her dilemma, and then only to condemn and ostracize her for breaking a treaty. And now that she has found partial relief and like Italy laid her hand upon the sword-hilt and declared an intention to defend her gains, the world is preparing to compel her to return to the *status quo* and abide by the rules laid down by Geneva and Washington.

What are these rules? What is this law we are preparing to enforce? We have our own belief in its impartiality, but to the Japanese it is the rule that works one way only, the rule of imparity, the rule laid down by Wilson at Paris in rejecting a majority vote upholding Japan's claim to racial equality, the rule applied at Washington which allotted to her an inferior naval ratio, the rule promulgated two years later which permitted the entrance of negroes, Hindoos and other backward peoples and barred the door to the Japanese, the rule which rejected her right to appeal to the law of self-defense, the rule which closes the door to any appeal from the verdict of Geneva, the rule that held her to the strict text of treaties while her next door neighbors were arming and preparing to crush her, the rule, enfin, that rules the world, the rule of the Strongest. And we are surprised, hurt, indignant that Japan now insists upon recognition of her equality. We anathematize and marshal world opinion against her because she can stand the humiliation no longer and is prepared to resist any further impairment of her rights. This is what the Western Powers have forced upon Japan.

The American people must look fairly at these facts. The obligations of the Peace Pact compel us to co-operate with the League in every dispute where sanctions are applied and, through the Stimson Doctrine, the bond becomes so strong that we cannot now release ourselves with honor. His enunciation of the doctrine

which bears his name under the circumstances in which it was promulgated, makes difficult, if not impossible, any return to traditional American practice without facing the charge of deliberate discrimination in applying it to Manchoukuo. Mr. Stimson assumed responsibility for a departure from traditional American diplomatic procedure that must, unless rescinded and disavowed, involve us in cases repugnant to every conception of American ideals. There are many peoples held in subjection throughout the world by stark terrorism and to deny to these unfortunates the right to revolt and use force, grasp every opportunity that offers for their escape, or to accept the aid of an outside state to overthrow their oppressors, constitutes a betrayal of all that Americans hold most dear, all that our Fathers fought and died for and handed down to this generation to preserve and pass on unimpaired to those who follow after.

Make no mistake about this. The League of Nations will never release us from the commitment that binds us to it in a common partnership to maintain the *status quo*. The day will arrive when the Nation will have occasion to remember to its sorrow how the cause of human liberty was betrayed by straying from the precepts of those who gave to us our understanding of what real liberty means. "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it."—G.B.R.

PROBING THE ISSUES

Recognition of Manchoukuo the Only Road to Peace

"Causes for a new war exist behind the scenes and at any moment they may become stronger than the good-will and the futile efforts for understanding. There exists no court for adjudicating these issues. Only one force can avert a conflict. Public opinion must be enlightened. It is all very well to lay down and insist upon the law but it will not stop a conflict unless we develop a personal sympathy, cast aside our prejudices and try to put ourselves in the other fellow's place and ask ourselves what we would do if placed in the same position. . . . It becomes tragically urgent to probe all sides of these issues."

What is the League?

CALLING attention to Japan's withdrawal from the League in an address delivered before the Peace Society in London, Premier Stanley Baldwin declared that "she had turned her back to the rest of the world" and "we must look fairly at her reasons, for they lie deeply in the criticisms of the League. Is the League a powerful instrument for preserving the *status quo* and nothing more?" he asked. "Does it not recognize that in the evolution of nations and their needs there may be room for change?" "But," he stressed, "such change must come primarily from within, be wrought within the framework of the League, it must be an ordered evolution." Sir Samuel Hoare, in his Geneva speech of September 11, made practically the same statement as regards changes, declaring that they will come only when the time is ripe and then by common agreement.

These two statements obviously reflect the British official attitude toward Japan, an admission that perhaps the League might have been too hasty in its judgment. Geneva certainly had ample time to examine impartially Japan's reasons before delivering its verdict of guilt and it is highly improbable that it will consent to reopen the case and admit that it was wrong. Although Britain's influence was exerted to keep the League within reasonable bounds and block the application of sanctions, which she alone of the League Powers, would have been called upon to execute, it was impossible for her to control all the small nations whose interests in the aggregate outweighed the interests of one or two Great Powers. Japan was condemned by a group of States—some of which her arms helped to create—whose only material bond was a common lack of might, spiritually linked together by a common love of right. Their respect for right was less due to their superior virtue than to their inferior power. Professor Rappard correctly describes them as follows:

"If Small States are on the whole internationally less sinful than Great Powers, it is not because they are more saintly, but because they are less apt to be successful sinners. By serving the League they are not only defending justice, they are also most effectively promoting their national interests. Compared with the Great Powers, they are gaining more, while risking less, by subordinating their own ambitions to the cause of law and order in the world. One of their spokesmen, Mr. Moltesen, of Denmark, could therefore without indulging in cant, declare at the close of a remarkable speech delivered at the Eighth Assembly of September 7, 1927; 'The League has now found allies. . . . in all the smaller States, which, let us hope, may serve—to quote the simile of an English statesman—as the consecrated vessels in which the Divinity dispenses the sacred wine.' "These are fine words," continues Professor Rappard. "Fine words, however, will not suffice to insure the success of the League of Nations, nor to maintain the peace of the world, which is the chief task."

Spain and Japan

The author of *La Guerre Revient* who had the courage to tell the truth about Eastern Europe calls some of these consecrated vessels, "a nest of brigands, nations led by men who have the mentality of American gangsters." The representatives of several such governments were amongst those who lined up behind their like in the Orient and demanded action against Japan, which to be effective would have to be undertaken by Great Britain—and the United States. It was an exceptional and spectacular opportunity for representatives of these small nations to proclaim their virtues, strut the stage and take the applause. Deriding their own Delegate, Spanish newspapers, quoting an old Moorish proverb, said: "it is better to be the tail of the lion than the head of

the mouse." Apt and pat. Proud old Spain, the conqueror and civilizer of continents, maligned and slandered by the propaganda of centuries, remains the true hidalgo and caballero, clinging to traditions and a code of honor which permits it to retain its dignified conception of a place in the world typified by and emblazoned on its old coat of arms by castle and a lion rampant. The picture of a Spanish pedagog placing himself at the head of the smaller nations was not relished by a people who in their hearts prefer to remain the *cola del leon* than be the *cabeza del raton*.

For four hundred years world opinion had been trained to look upon Spain as a bloodthirsty, tyrannical, exploiting nation, her faults magnified into enormities, the good she did, never mentioned. The cumulative effect of the romancing of biased historians, the constant dripping of venom from the pens of novelists and the misrepresentations of the English-language press made it impossible for her to obtain fair hearing. Spain was condemned in 1898, forced into war, separated from her last colonies and relegated to the position of a third-rate power by the same star-chamber methods and appeals to prejudice as were afterwards employed to condemn Japan in 1932. Old Spain with all her faults would have understood and sympathized with Nippon. At least she would have refrained from voting against her. New Spain, forgetting the lessons of history which destroyed her power and humbled her pride, oblivious to her own wrongs and sufferings as the result of a similar miscarriage of justice, proudly aligned herself with her traducers at Geneva and applauded when her Delegate placed himself at the head of the smaller states, rejected any testimony or consideration of extenuating circumstances that might have vindicated Japan, and demanded judgment against her.

The same methods employed to blacken the character of Spain and marshal world opinion against her to the point where nothing she did was right, are now being used to smear the honor and reputation of Japan. For nearly three decades the campaign to hold her up to scorn and impugn her good-faith has proceeded with unrelenting savagery. Conscious of their rectitude and honorable intentions, the Japanese with their high code of chivalry cannot understand what it is all about. They cling tenaciously and hopefully to the belief that in due course the world will recognize their disinterestedness and upright conduct and concede to them the justice now withheld. In the meantime, they have crawled into their shell prepared to defend themselves against the imposition of any sentence a prejudiced court may attempt to enforce.

The Law of Self Preservation

Japan's face is now turned toward Asia, away from those who have judged and condemned her on their own interpretation of the law, and she has declared an intention to brook no further interference on the part of her Judges in matters which vitally affect her existence. This is the definition of the Hirota Doctrine communicated to the world through the Spokesman of the Foreign Office, Mr. Eiji Amau. If I were asked to state in a few words the reason why Japan was forced to this extremity, I would say that she was the victim of a false treaty and is being held rigidly to its terms even when conditions have so changed that compliance with it means national suicide. There are so many conflicting authorities on international law, that it is difficult to make up one's mind as to which opinion rules, but I am inclined to accept as fundamental the views expressed by Revier, who says:

"When a conflict arises between the right of self-preservation of a State and the duty of that State to respect the right of another, the right of self-preservation overrides the duty. *Primum Vivere*. A man may be free to sacrifice himself. It is never permitted to a government to sacrifice the State of which the destinies are confided to it. The Government is then authorized, and even in certain circumstances, bound to violate the right of another country for the safety of its own. That is the excuse of necessity, and application of the reason of State. It is a legitimate excuse. . . ."

There are many authorities who uphold this interpretation of the law. It is fundamental in the American conception of self-defense under the Monroe Doctrine as was so clearly stated by Secretary of State Kellogg in his explanation of the Peace Pact to the Senate. But the principles which guide our own conception of self-preservation apparently cannot be extended to another State when confronted with the alternative of self-destruction or

disregarding the law. In every case but our own, the State so confronted must abide by the law and invoke the police, whether or not the latter are on the job and able to discharge their functions. In the case of the red-blooded individual, he would most certainly respond to the primeval instinct without waiting for the guardians of the law to make a belated appearance.

This, in my opinion, is Japan's position under the Washington Treaties devised by those, who in pursuit of their own interests and a desire to preserve their supremacy, denied to her an equality of rights in exactly the same spirit as the vanquished were treated at Versailles. It is true that Japan accepted and signed these treaties without reservation, but even those who now condemn her, must admit that for her it was the only alternative to a war that at the moment, seemed almost inevitable. In 1921, Japan had no option. Britain and the United States started out to clip her wings and hold her permanently in an inferior status, or until such time as a strong, united China could take over the task of maintaining a balance of power in Eastern Asia. As Germany was encircled in 1914 and is once more being ringed around by a wall of steel, so the Washington Treaties encaged and held Japan fast to their terms while China was granted full liberty to do as she pleased, which pleasure she exercised by throwing a noose around the neck of entrapped Japan and doing her best to strangle her to death. On the other hand, Soviet Russia was conceded a charter of license by the Washington Conference to impose her rule and work her will in Eastern Asia without fear of protest or interference. The encirclement of Germany led to the catastrophe of 1914. The erection of a new ringed-fence around that country is certain to lead to another explosion. In trying to restrain Japan behind a similar palisade, while holding her in an inferior naval status, in order more readily to discipline her if she breaks out of the enclosure, our denial of even the elementary rights of self-defense when in sheer desperation she responded to this fundamental instinct, our refusal to recognize what she has done and the fear that we may attempt to drive her back into the pit and hold her there by a combined and overwhelming naval and air force, is the sole explanation of what has caused Japan to make such a determined stand for what she considers, and rightly, I believe, as her right to exist.

"Jackals of the Victory"

As long as the League embraces within its membership Nations and peoples having no capacity for self-rule, who do not know the meaning of the word "liberty," who have never fought for their rights, who have no conception of and no qualification to exercise the right of government, peoples oppressed by dictators, war-lords, bandit-chiefs, slave-holders, madmen, gangsters and grafters, "jackals of the victory," Clemenceau called them, the enforcement of its mandates becomes a mockery, a betrayal of the high ethical and legal ideals upon which this association of free peoples was conceived and brought into being by a great humanitarian and lover of liberty. Under the present composition of the League, it becomes, not an instrument for safeguarding the liberties and welfare of mankind, but as Leon Bourgeois foresaw in 1919, "a combination of Great Powers who would seek peace rather than a peace founded on justice." And that seemingly is what the League has degenerated into, a mechanism to preserve peace at any price as long as the *status quo* remains unchanged.

Premier Baldwin's conciliatory spirit voiced in his somewhat wistful reference to Japan, must therefore be interpreted as reflecting solely the reaction of his own Government to reopening the case, but within the structure and under the jurisdiction of the League. Obviously, this cannot be done without a complete reorganization of the League itself, that will exclude from the Society of Free States, many governments not entitled to or qualified for such membership. As long as representatives of despots whose title to rule arises from the crushing weight of their armies, are permitted to sit cheek by jowl and participate in debate with the delegates of free peoples and by their vote block any laws or measures which might impair their power and right to exploit the helpless, it is futile to expect that the League will ever be any more than it is to-day, an impediment to any change that will legalize the right of rebellion against oppression and the right to set up new governments and independent states. It sounds the death knell to human liberties.

A Reorganized League

If Mr. Stanley Baldwin is sincere, and I believe that he is, then there can be no change, no justice, no peace or hope of peace until the present League is dissolved and reorganized on an entirely new basis. Universality is a wonderful conception, but the association so implied can never bring that equality upon which a lasting peace and understanding can be erected. In the world of to-day, there can be no such thing as international democracy and no common ground on which to erect an edifice of peace other than the primacy of the Great Democratic Powers possessing the physical might that gives to them the right to control the affairs of the world in times of peace as well as times of war and, in that group must be included the Power which dominates and dictates the peace of Eastern Asia.

Such a League may work an injustice on so-called smaller nations, but if there is ever to be an understanding between Britain and the United States that will bring the two nations into common accord and commit the American people to again fight by the side of their kin for the maintenance of peace and their mutual ideals, in our very humble opinion, it must be along some new conception of a League and not the present grouping which includes in its membership those who would not hesitate to plunge the world into war without warning to solidify the position of their rulers and perpetuate the power of megalomaniacs artful enough to conceal their ambitions and disguise their plans and preparations for conquest behind high-sounding platitudes uttered by their polished and cultured representatives at Geneva.

The October *Forum* contains an article by Vyvyan Adams, M.P., entitled "The Key to Peace," a statement of what he believes should be the path of the United States towards securing a world-wide peace. In it, he admits that when we (the British), "press America to enter the structure of which her great Woodrow Wilson was a chief architect, we owe it to her to make the League respectable." He goes on to say that "hard necessity and the haunting imminence of doom are compelling the Englishman reluctantly to press upon other governments, with special reference to the United States, the urgency of entering the League to make it effective." A sentiment that many Americans will endorse.

Why America Should Stay Out

Britain's place in the world of to-day, however, makes of her an interested party to every conflict that may arise, and, if she is now haunted by the imminence of doom, is it not because she must at all hazards maintain a *status quo* which can be perpetuated only by force? The peace of Versailles is admitted, even in England, to be an unjust peace. Europe must again pay the penalty for the mistakes of its peace-makers. The representatives of the Allies laid down the terms of that peace. Must America again be drawn into a struggle to enforce it, when its views received so little consideration in its making? The situation in Germany, in Eastern Europe, in Italy, in Soviet Russia, tells us that the League as now constituted cannot endure without recourse to arms. America's entrance into the League means that it must fight to maintain the integrity of the British Empire against any and all foes, and against any and all nations whose ambitions or policies might bring them into clash with widespread British interests. America would be drawn into every war in Europe. Germany refuses to stay put. She has served notice of an intention to break through the wall surrounding her, if not to the West, then to the East. While Americans would undoubtedly sympathize with and perhaps even again support England and France, it is difficult to imagine them growing excited over any threat to Soviet Russia. The real test of the League is yet to come.

In previous articles I have stressed the danger of again attempting to propagandize the United States into any situation aligning us with Great Britain in a new war to end war, for the reason that the old Anglo-Saxon element no longer can dictate the policy of the Nation. Although a publicity campaign of that nature might once more succeed in influencing official opinion to the point of an open declaration of policy or even war, it would probably start a revolution within that would wreck the Republic. Our views on such a possibility have since been strengthened in an editorial appearing in *The Saturday Evening Post* of November 23, entitled "Alien Quarrels in America." If, therefore, we seem to over-emphasize the dangers of too close or open collaboration

with Britain, it is because our first concern is for the preservation of American ideals and institutions. We are headed for plenty of trouble in this old world, as the result of our meddling in its affairs, and my own views as an individual American, are that the sooner we return to the fundamentals laid down for our guidance by the Fathers and build up our own defenses to preserve our independence and security, the better it will be for us. And we have no time to lose.

Real Anglo-American Unity

A new whirlwind drive is now on to bring about Anglo-American co-operation. I am not opposed to it. In fact, I am for it. Only I would go even further than the most enthusiastic rooter for the movement. If, as we are told, Canning gave to us the Monroe Doctrine, if the Open Door Doctrine was conceived in London and worked off on John Hay to promulgate, if, as Lord Riddell asserts, Smuts and Lord Phillimore are the real authors of the program for the League of Nations, if Lloyd George prepared the plans for the Washington Conference and induced Harding and Hughes to issue the invitations so as to make it appear as an American idea, if the inspiration of the Peace Pact came from either London or Paris and Kellogg sponsored it as a basic American doctrine, if practically every major foreign policy the United States is committed to uphold, has been worked out for us by the more subtle brains of Britain, where then is our vaunted independence? If we are content to remain a secondary mercantile-marine power and see our cargoes carried over the Seven Seas by ships flying the Union Jack, who do it more cheaply and with equal efficiency, if we will never again contest with Britannia the "Freedom of the Seas," if we are to remain neutral and align ourselves on her side in every major conflict she finds herself in, if we are to co-operate with the League against the Mandate of the American people, what do we want a big navy for?

Once upon a time, long, long ago, we had a little difference of opinion with Britain over being taxed without our consent. We even fought over this and set up in business for ourselves. One hundred and forty years later, we were induced to go to war to help Britain out of a hole and loaned her a few billions of dollars besides. We are now informed that Britain cannot pay back these loans. She does not refuse to pay but merely says she is unable to do so and asks for a readjustment of the account. So far, so good. Now war between the United States and Britain over any question, is unthinkable. I subscribe to that. Well, now let us ask ourselves, what is the difference between the original quarrel which broke up the happy family and this misunderstanding over the war-debts? In the final analysis, the American taxpayer must pay the bill for a war he voted to be kept out of. If he must now stand the burden of these debts, is not this equivalent to taxation without representation?

If every time Britain is compelled to fight, the United States is dragged in on her side and our wealth and resources placed at her disposal by a group of statesmen in complete disregard for the express wishes of the people who elected them to office, and we are informed after it is all over that she cannot repay the debt until it is scaled down to meet her ability to do so, and these same statesmen decline to press our claim against her, does not that for all practical political purposes make us a dependency of Great Britain? When we are told in no uncertain language that the last war was "our war," that we were late getting into it, that our European Allies held the line and paid with their life-blood until we could enter the fight, that this sacrifice on their part more than counterbalances the few billions we loaned them, it is all very confusing and incomprehensible to us. We do not like to make a fuss over a few billion dollars. So we say nothing. If that is our position, I can see no good reason why we do not take our natural place as a unit in the British Empire and have it over with.

Why not give a belated reality to that glorious and wonderful dream of Lord Rosebery's and bring into being that "freer and greater Britain, and with Americans in the majority, move the seat of Empire solemnly across the Atlantic and let Britain become the historical shrine and the European outpost of World Empire." Like Rosebery, we can visualize "the procession across the Atlantic, the greatest sovereign in the greatest fleet in the universe, Ministers, Government, Parliament, departing solemnly for the other hemisphere awaiting the vigorous embrace of the younger

world." Why not? If we are to become part of the Lion, why the Tail and not the Head? Not like the head of the Metro-Goldwin breed, that opens the show, lets out a dignified yawp or two and then fades away to permit the stars to monopolize the stage, but the real thing. That is my conception of American-Anglo co-operation, unity and standing shoulder to shoulder for the defense of our common ideals. But like Rosebery's idea, it is also a fantastic imagining of what might have been. Still, it is a fine dream, full of real possibilities.

"One Born Every Minute"

Collective action to preserve peace and all other arguments advanced to convince Americans of their duty to enter the League, boil down to the application of sanctions and possible war. After ascertaining where the United States stood on the Italo-Ethiopian imbroglio, Britain has succeeded in inducing every country in the League to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant and we now have the picture of a world united against Italy in the application of economic sanctions. But should a show of force become necessary, which of the sixty odd nations composing the League is to apply it? Will all nations, great and small, possessing navies, contribute their quota of war-craft to co-operate as one unit under one supreme command? If this were possible, could the High Command of the Allied fleets exact that complete co-ordination and co-operation essential to victory?

Or, let us assume that the British fleet would undertake the sole responsibility for coercing the "aggressor," will Britain be called upon to pay the full costs of applying a blockade and the war that would inevitably follow? If a vote for the application of sanctions carried with it automatically the obligation to contribute a proportionate share of the costs of such coercion, how many of the bellicose small states could or would be willing to contribute either its quota of ships, armies or hard cash? How can we expect bankrupt or semi-bankrupt states to commit themselves to such expenditures? Would not the full cost ultimately devolve upon Great Britain and the United States, should the latter join up with the League? The experience of the post-war period teaches us that it would be just as difficult to collect the proportionate costs of such a war from all the small nations as it has been to induce the Great Powers to honor their old war obligations.

When we recall how many member states of the League are behind in their dues for the maintenance of the Secretariat, how can we expect such delinquents to pay their share of enforcing its mandates? Look at China, a member in good standing. For years it was posted as not having paid its contribution, yet it retained full rights of membership, voting power, even to a seat on the Council. The result? It came blessed near plunging the whole world into a war, because China insisted upon throwing a dispute into the League that might have been settled amicably at the outset in direct negotiations with Japan.

Had the League proceeded to pronounce sentence upon Japan as China so loudly demanded, and the world had been precipitated into war, how much of the expense would have been borne by the nation which instigated it? Other than moral support, what could many other states in the League have contributed either in arms or money? A system whereby one nation may vote to send another nation into war without accepting a responsibility proportionate to its wealth, either in arms or cash, seems to be rather a one-sided setup.

On the other hand, if peace at any price is desired by a group of Great Powers in order to preserve the *status quo*, the balance of power or the interests of trade and profit, then, of course, they should pay the bill. As long as Britain—and the United States—are willing to assume such a burden for the protection of their own interests, we can establish universality with the certainty that every little two-by-four republic, Balkan state or irresponsible international personage, will vote for sanctions or any other measure proposed by those willing to pay the bill, confident that as far as they are concerned, they remain immune from the consequences. There is a word for all this in the American vernacular. We call it a "sucker game." And despite the lessons of the World War, there seems to be many of the type left in the United States with "new ones being born every minute."

The Ominous Silence of Washington

If Japan is to resume her place in any association of Western Nations, it follows that the existing League must first reverse its decision over Manchoukuo, something it cannot do while China remains a member. It is plain that the faction ruling that country from Nanking, whose ambassadors are in constant touch with the Heads of the League States in Europe, will never voluntarily withdraw from an association which gives reality to the fiction that it represents a unified state and its expectation that some day the League will proceed to execute sentence upon Japan.

China hopes that that day will not be long deferred and her diplomats carefully watch the unfolding of events and take advantage of every opportunity to remind the League and the Powers of their obligations under the Covenant and the Treaties. As long, therefore, as the League exists in its present form and its champions like Baldwin, Hoare and others, declare that all changes must come under its jurisdiction, their conciliatory words carry little meaning for, should the question of reopening the Manchurian dispute be broached at Geneva, it would result in a hasty reassembling of the old line-up of small Powers to block it. Premier Baldwin's championship of League supremacy under such conditions can have only one termination. If Geneva succeeds in restraining Italy and re-establishes its prestige, it will proceed immediately to enforce its mandate upon Japan with the implied assurance that in such an adventure it can count on the full co-operation of the United States. Other long-headed British statesmen realize what this means, and apparently are striving to avoid a showdown by advocating the early recognition of Manchoukuo. So we find Sir Austin Chamberlain, former Foreign Secretary, declaring in the House of Commons that the continued non-recognition of Manchoukuo is the source of all the unrest in the Far East. He further urged that the British press for an early Sino-Japanese rapprochement. Sir Austin sees the situation as it is.

But what is more important and indeed ominous is the fact that this prompting from London seemingly finds no responsive gesture from the other side of the Atlantic. As yet there is no sign of softening on the part of Washington or any hint that Manchoukuo may be recognized. On the contrary, Secretary Hull still stands squarely on the Nine Power Treaty and warns Japan to keep the faith with principles and pledges. Every diagnosis of American policy presages some action in the future to restore the artificial equilibrium set up at the Washington Conference. The signs all point to the conclusion that the United States does not intend to recede from the doctrine promulgated by Mr. Stimson; nor will it even admit the right of China to enter voluntarily into any agreement that might impair American treaty rights through recognition of Manchoukuo. Japan is now concentrating her diplomacy on reaching an amicable settlement of all outstanding points of difference with China which, to be effective and lasting, must necessarily include recognition of the accomplished fact. On the other hand, China is being counselled never to commit herself to any action "that will prejudice or render impossible the correction of the present situation in Manchuria in accordance with the principles declared, and along the lines of the suggestions and recommendations made by the Lytton Report."

Chamberlain Points the Way

In view of the plain reading of the text of the American note to the Governments of Japan and China dated January 7, 1932, the question is bound to arise as to whether any treaty settlement arrived at between Tokyo and Nanking will be recognized by the United States. Will not history repeat itself? Will not China at the first opportunity denounce the understanding as having been extracted under duress? Would she not immediately after signing such a treaty communicate confidentially to the other interested Powers that she had been coerced by military pressure and, in view of the position of the United States emphasized in Mr. Stimson's note, would not the door be left open to denounce the treaty as invalid whenever a safe occasion arises? If, whatever Japan now persuades China to do, is rejected later on by the United States as a violation of its treaty rights, what assurance has Japan that such a treaty will remain binding on China?

The American Government notified China and Japan that it will not recognize any agreement that may impair its treaty rights

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THE BREATH OF LIBERTY

Treaty Rights Must Yield to Human Rights

IRELAND AND CHINA

THIS is no place to discuss all the ramifications of autonomy as applied to any part of China, except to point out that no matter from what quarter the impulse comes, whether from within or without, whether spontaneous or incited, it is a legitimate and honorable aspiration. Why should the people of North China be shot down for demanding the same Home Rule that Ireland now enjoys?

Over the centuries, the gallant Irish struggled to free themselves from the yoke of the British. Time after time they arose in rebellion only to be defeated and subjected to greater indignities. The desire for freedom was always there, innate, inherent in the hearts of the people, part of the very air they breathed. Denied political preferment, they took to the army. They fought for France, they fought for Spain, they even fought England's battles, not because of any love for her, but to keep proficient in the use of arms and the art of war. How many of England's bravest generals hailed from the Emerald Isle? How many battles were won by her Irish brigades?

"Proud England mind your Irishmen, you'll need them bye and bye," they sang as they fought and died on their way to victory. But England never heard. Her ears were closed (I wonder what England will do in the next war without the Irish). It needed no impulse from without to stir these men to action. All they prayed for was the opportunity.

Whence came the encouragement, the words of cheer, the funds to carry on with, the moral support and the newspaper backing which alone heartened and kept alive the spirit of liberty over the black years of despondency? Why is Ireland free to-day? Without detracting from the splendid and sustained activities of the Irish patriots or the Parliamentary Group which championed the cause of Erin in the House of Commons, is it too much to say that Catholic Ireland would never have attained freedom had it not been for American support, American sympathy and the steady flow of American contributions to the war-chest of the movement? Who does not remember the distinguished sachem of Tammany Hall, who proudly boasted that he considered himself not as the United States Senator from the State of New York but as the representative of Ireland in the American Government? And, mind you, it was during the term of office of Senator O'Gorman in the administration of President Wilson that the final plans for Ireland's freedom were worked out, and the flames of revolt spread until England capitulated. Ireland has since gone a step further and now refuses even the oath of allegiance to King George. Do we see the English mobilizing armies to invade the Emerald Isle to lay waste, destroy and massacre its people to hold them to allegiance? Do we even hear a murmur of resentment, or an open intimation that London will never recognize what Dublin may do? We do not. We do, however, hear voices like those of Sir Evelyn Wrench, proprietor of the *Spectator*, asking the question; "ought we not to meet Mr. de Valera by frankly recognizing the right of the Free State to secede from the British Commonwealth if it so desires? No sane Englishman—and most of us are virtually sane—wishes to hold Ireland by force." So speaks the new England, the voice of toleration, of conciliation, the voice Americans recognize as the echo of Chatham ringing down the ages.

Do we not recognize the same voice in the sentiments revealed in the article by Lord Maclay in the *Christian Science Monitor*? He says:

"What were called colonies in the past are now practically independent states—Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand—all of which could at any time dissociate themselves from Great Britain. India, Ceylon, Burma, Egypt and small Colonies and Dependencies under control or tutelage must, in the not distant future, be equally free. . . . The sentiment of the Colonies should not be forgotten." In a recent speech, the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett, made the statement that "Canada cannot become embroiled in disputes in

which they have no direct interests." And there is a similar feeling in other parts of the Empire.

Britain has set the example that must be followed if the world is to have a lasting peace. The process of disintegration within the British Empire could not be stopped without recourse to ruthless suppression, the killing of one's own kind to maintain the majesty of Empire. Lord Maclay repeats the exact argument advanced by the writer in his book, entitled "The Case for Manchoukuo." In other parts of the world a new conception of humane statesmanship is meeting these issues, not by dispatching armies to shoot down the discontented, but by seeking a solution through conciliation and compromise. That rule must be extended to China if the world is to have peace and the people of that country are to receive justice.

The Breath of Liberty

No matter how deeply the alienation of Ireland and her setting up as an independent entity may impair and jeopardize the security of Britain, she has submitted to the painful surgical operation without uttering a protest or registering a vow to recover her rights of sovereignty concealed behind a declaration of Non-Recognition. Britain knows that she can no longer coerce Ireland without jeopardizing the friendship of the United States. Now, if unofficial American initiative, popular sympathy and financial support can bring Home Rule, freedom and complete independence to Ireland and the British Government will no longer seek to impose its authority by the sword, what right have Americans to set themselves up as judges of a parallel situation in Asia and support a despotic, militaristic oligarchy in maintaining its rule over any section of China whose people seek the same rights and liberties as those now enjoyed by the Hibernians? Admitted, for the sake of argument, that the North China autonomous movement was instigated by Japanese (which they deny), admitted that they are protected from coercion and massacre by the decree of the Japanese army that it will not permit such a misuse of power, what is the contradistinction between the two methods?

What is the essential difference between Yin Ju-keng's modest proclamation of autonomy and the ringing challenge of Henry Grattan before the House of Commons at Dublin in 1780 as he told the British to their face what Patrick Henry had reduced to the seven words which closed his speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses only six years before.

"I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our island, in common with my fellow subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it is the ambition to break your chains and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags. . . . the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survives him. I shall move you that the Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland."

Not until England, a century and a half later, found herself exhausted, impoverished and war-weary, did the long-suffering Irish deliver the blow that broke the last shackle that held them in bondage.

The Harvest of the Grim Reaper

The rulers of China have yet to learn the lesson of history that coercion can never bring unity and confidence. Sympathy, understanding, humanity and co-operation is the secret that binds together the Commonwealths of the British Empire and the federated States of the American Union into a homogeneous whole. Coercion only hardens opposition and converts reasonable men into revolutionists or obstructionists. Tyranny grows by what it feeds on

and as long as the system that now prevails in China is encouraged under the protection of a foreign-imposed treaty to coerce the people into obedience, there can be no unity, no peace, no understanding with other Powers worth the paper it is written upon.

The derangement of the spokesmen for China is traceable to the fact that their methods of thought are still attuned to the philosophy of the ancient sages. Time is nothing. Wang Ching-wei reveals the working of the official Chinese mind when, in apologizing for the suicidal slaughter that has followed the establishment of the Republic, he quoted the following words of Sir Edward Backhouse:

"The consolidation of each new dynasty occupied at least a generation of internecine turmoil and relentless strife, besides which the vicissitudes of the Republic assume their proportional significance and yield a full hope for the future."

This typifies the philosophy behind the present revolution. In it you seek in vain for any compassion or thought for the sufferings of the masses, so long as they come under the rule of the new Master. There is nothing remarkable in this. Given sufficient time, any fairly successful bandit or war-lord will ultimately consolidate his power by converting the country into a solitude and calling it peace. It goes without saying that the Revolutionary Party recognized and maintained in power with the aid of foreign gunboats, will inevitably consolidate its rule through the sheer exhaustion of its opponents—the triumph of the graveyard.

Well, we have had a generation of internecine turmoil, relentless strife and wholesale butchery, with over thirty million lives snuffed out in the process of unification and the end is not yet. How many more generations must pass under the scythe of the Grim Reaper before the Revolutionary Group consolidates its power and the country is unified? The answer to this will never come from within. It lies with the Great Powers which permits this holocaust to proceed unchecked in the name of, let us call it, Democracy.

The Incarnation of Respectability

For the moment it is fashionable and popular to anathematize Japan and hold her responsible for all of China's woes, and the world hastens to forestall any movement that might free the slaves of China by declaring that it will not recognize whatever may be done in their behalf contrary to a treaty which sets up and perpetuates the rule of a minority masquerading as a Democracy and concealing its high-handed system of government behind the grotesque appellation of a "Republic." Lest we forget. When the leaders of the Chinese revolutionary movement were proscribed, hunted down, decapitated, and those fortunate enough to escape the executioner, fled across the seas to seek sanctuary, where did they find it? Who befriended Sun Yat-sen in the days of his exile? Where was the headquarters of his revolutionary society located for many years and from where did he receive much needed funds? It was proper, legitimate and praiseworthy for private Japanese citizens to succor and extend aid to China's great Leader when he was plotting the overthrow of the Manchus.

We heard no denunciation from the Powers at that time that Japan was responsible for the discontent and uprisings in various parts of China. There were no proclamations declaring an intention to refuse to recognize any situation that might result from these activities. As long as Japanese of the last generation were assisting the movement to overthrow the Manchus, they were above reproach, but now, thirty years later, when many of these men are allegedly instigating the people of North China to free themselves from the despotism of the group which succeeded the Manchus, it is all wrong.

The Kuomintang despotism has become the incarnation of respectability. It has been recognized and elevated to the ranks of the great Powers. It becomes a crime against civilization, a violation of the treaties, and a betrayal of the Peace Pacts, to encourage any movement that might delay its program to unite the country in the sacred name of "Democracy." So we give due notice to these Japanese meddlers that principles and methods legalized by the West, cannot be extended to Asia.

We will not recognize any impairment of the *status quo* in China. And from behind the walls of Nanking we hear the catechumens of the new dispensation mumbling the responses learned by rote from the catechism of Geneva; "by the eternal Nine Power Treaty, by the sacred Covenant of Saint Woodrow, by the holy

commandments of the prophet Kellogg, by the hundred-armed Buddha and all the gods of Cathay, we now solemnly declare that neither now nor in the future will we recognize what is done in this country in the name of Liberty, Amen!" And if the caretaker of Westminster Abbey (I hope that's the right place) should hear a sound as of merriment coming from the crypts, it is probably the spirit of Burke, chuckling to himself. For it was he who once said: "Slave owners are most jealous of their own liberty."

Pre-War Stuff

It seems hardly necessary to dilate further on this inconsistency in our diplomacy. It is well for Americans, however, to ask themselves whether the Thirteen Colonies could have achieved their independence without the aid of France? Could San Martin have liberated Chili without the help of Lord Cochrane's fleet? Could Greece have won its freedom without that careless shot which started the battle at Navarino, destroyed the Turkish fleet and bound Great Britain, France and Russia to the Greek cause? Could Cuba or the Philippines have become free without the intervention of the United States? How about Texas? Panama? Could the succession states in Europe have achieved independence by themselves? How long could they last without the protection of France? How about the present regime in China itself? Could the Kuomintang have triumphed without the aid of Moscow? Why proceed? Why single out Japan as the Bad Boy of Asia and declare that whatever might be done in this part of the world as the result of her official or unofficial activities will never be recognized?

The answer, of course, is obvious. That is all old pre-war stuff. Out of date. The Covenant, the Nine Power Treaty and the Peace Pacts have changed all that. Granted. I have only this to say. All the treaties in the world will not stop the movement for better government in China. The demand for autonomy, the struggle for liberty, for a release from their sufferings, for the right of the people to a voice in the direction of their own affairs, will be heard in greater and greater volume. Not all the armies of Chiang Kai-shek or the combined navies of the foreign powers can now halt the movement that was started when he and his Bolshevik advisers marched out of Canton to subjugate the Northern militarists, the movement that has since occupied all his time to suppress and in which millions of Chinese have been slaughtered, the movement that gained headway in Manchuria as soon as the opportunity presented itself, the movement that has now extended to North China and will push farther and farther south until his government is compelled to concede the rights it started out from Canton to bestow upon the people of China. If these people in North China are to be shot down, bombed from the air and massacred *en masse* in the time honored Asiatic fashion of repressing discontent, if the principles which guide Great Britain in her treatment of Ireland, of Madrid towards Catalonia, of the United States towards the Philippines, are not to apply to the people of Cathay, then all the lessons of history are wasted.

"Our Great Sister-Republic"

And before we leave this subject, let us also recall that the original impetus to revolt against despotism, the desire to establish a republican form of government in China, came from the American missionaries, educators and the thousands of young Chinese graduates of our colleges who returned to their homes to spread the gospel of democracy. Americans are directly responsible for inculcating these high ideals in the minds of a people unprepared to understand what they meant or how to put them into practice.

The Manchus were overthrown as the result of this spiritual conquest of the Chinese mind. Americans rushed to recognize their "Great Sister-Republic," satisfied that the name alone carried with it understanding, respectability and good-faith. Voltaire once sarcastically remarked that the "Holy Roman Empire" was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor was it an Empire." So with the "National Government of the Republic of China," it is neither National, nor a Government, nor a Republic, while "China," is merely a geographical expression. That is as far as it ever got, a Republic in name only, with no articles of confederation, no constitution, no bill of rights, no code of laws, merely a change in name. The same old Asiatic despotism remains with the Republic as far off as ever, a goal that according to Wang

Ching-wei cannot be reached during the life-time of the present generation. This statement reflects no discredit on the original group of high-minded, foreign-educated enthusiasts who surrounded Sun Yat-sen in 1912. The Republic they hoped to establish never had a chance. It was knifed at its birth by meddling foreign Powers who saw in Sun Yat-sen an impractical dreamer and placed their bets on the Strong Man, Yuan Shih-kai, financing him while he broke his oath, betrayed the Republic, proscribed its leaders and set out to establish himself as the head of a new dynasty. With the assistance of Moscow, this old Revolutionary Group finally came into power and received recognition. It is now just as dictatorial, tyrannical and intolerant as the regimes it displaced. Like them, it proclaims that it has received the "Mandate from Heaven" to rule, that it alone will decide when the time is ripe to extend autonomy to the provinces, draft a constitution, endow the people with their rights as human beings and give them a voice in the management of their own affairs.

Now, let us be fair. Who ever heard of a despotism or a dictatorship conceding any rights to the people until forced to do so? Where, outside of Britain's empire, can it be shown that Home Rule was ever granted without bloodshed? If China is a Republic, then it would seem logical to assume that the start to make it one must be made sometime, somewhere. Must its 500,000,000 people wait until Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues decide that the time is ripe for such a change? Must they be mowed down by machine-guns if they can no longer tolerate the conditions under which they live?

"Squeezed to the bone, by the corrupt officials of the party regime, the people of North China have suffered enough. No statesman could remain deaf to the cry for help from these starving millions. . . . No national salvation could be expected from such a regime."

As the Changs of Manchuria batted on the life blood of the people of that region and forced upon them seven billion dollars in irredeemable paper notes in exchange for the produce of their toil which was sold for hard coin, so the Nanking Government is draining the wealth of North China into its treasury to pay for the upkeep of armies maintained to keep those people in subjection. Surely, to state the case, is to refute the charge that these people do not desire a change, that they are content to remain under the present form of government. Ignorant of their rights, illiterate and unversed in the ways of self-government, these millions of peasants living close to the soil, are after all, human beings with the same feelings as the rest of us.

Human Rights Transcend Treaties

Now, let us again for the sake of argument admit that Japanese are instigating the autonomy movement in North China. Who has the right to condemn or criticize? America gave the first impulse to the movement which started China on the road to Democracy. We stopped right there, satisfied with the name and indifferent to the toll of death, of the lives of the millions of poor, peaceful human beings sacrificed to the cause of unification and the consolidation of one-man rule that has characterized the Republic since its birth. However, we insist that China is and must remain a republic, that we will recognize no change in its status. It must be held intact under one government, no matter how long it may take to establish the rule of the recognized faction over the whole country, and no matter how many more millions of inoffensive people are sacrificed to the Goddess of Liberty as she is known in Asia.

Well, suppose that the Japanese give the movement another push in the right direction by prompting the people of North China to set up an autonomous state? Is it not in line with our conception of what a republic should be, of what China must eventually become to merit our approval? If it is, then it is somewhat ironical for us to oppose such a movement and declare that we will never recognize what is done. We may answer, that is all true, but we do not trust Japan. We are satisfied that Japan is merely preparing to cut off another slice of China under the pretext of establishing autonomy. Maybe so. But North China is not Manchoukuo or Korea. There is a limit to Japan's digestive powers and unless all symptoms are deceptive, that limit has been reached. Japan may have the ambition and the appetite, but I do not believe that she will risk the consequences that are sure

to follow any attempt to bite off that slice of Celestial pie just over the crust of the Wall. I prefer to believe that for her own good Japan is really interested in advancing the welfare of the people of that region and is willing to assist them to stand on their own feet and recover their prosperity. It may be all wrong. It may be contrary to treaties, that is a matter of opinion. It may be anything you want to call it, but once started, the idea of Autonomy, Home Rule, Provincial Independence or Representative Government, in its last analysis, is merely the ages-old revolt of down-trodden humanity against misrule, oppression and injustice, against which no treaties, conventions, covenants or laws can avail. When treaty rights come into conflict with human rights the former must yield to the latter.

The Limit of Human Endurance

Who can read Lin Yu-tang's courageous yet pathetic presentation of the sufferings of his people in "The Way out for China" without a sense of shame that such things are permitted to take place in the 20th Century without a word of protest from those responsible in large part for this crime against a defenseless people? Who can read this indictment of his own rulers and then have the courage to uphold and defend the system responsible for a situation where "the people are bled-white and rendered homeless and the financial ruination of the Chinese countryside is going on at a gallop. Who will save this great and fine people, with their indomitable industry and good humor, from the grip of the octopus, Militarism? Who will bell the cat?" he asks, and turns back from the answer in despair.

He sees Dame Justice wielding the Sword of the Great Executioner, chopping off the heads of distinguished families and of those who are above the law. He pins his hopes for salvation on the people of China, believing that in time they will take the law into their own hands and throw off the incubus of corrupt officialdom. Mr. Lin is right, but he looks too far into the future. He asks for patience from the outside. That China is receiving. But he overlooks that it is the people of China who are becoming impatient. He sees no way to free his people from the tentacles of the octopus, but the answer is before his eyes. The octopus must live. Cut off its food supply and it will die. This can be done only by the people setting up local governments and refusing to be taxed. Why is Nanking opposed to North China autonomy? Look at the tax returns and we have the answer. Out of revenues aggregating \$190,000,000 raised in North China, \$130,000,000 is transferred to the treasury at Nanking for the maintenance of the armies. Not a cent is expended for bettering the condition of the people. This is taxation without representation with a vengeance, and, when in addition they are told that they must surrender their pitiful hoards of silver and accept in return irredeemable paper notes, it is not difficult to imagine their reaction. Now as Home Rule is extended more and more, the revenues which go to feed the octopus will be cut off and little by little he will starve. That is, the armies will have to be disbanded. North China is paving the way for the ultimate liberation of the people of all China by lopping off one tentacle of the brute. If Japan stands ready to protect them against the onrush of the enraged demon balked of its prey, the people of North China at least will have cause for rejoicing at their deliverance.

As Wang Ching-wei points out in his book on "China's Problems and Their Solution," "it is the people who are the ultimate arbiters as to whether the Party and the Government are fulfilling their revolutionary mission, whether they are carrying out the trusteeship of the national heritage in accordance with our late Leader's instructions." In the same breath, however, he admits that "official corruption is worse than during the Manchu regime." "Everywhere," he says, "we see desperation and disintegration." Now the Manchus about 1905 also held out the promise of constitutional government within seven years with the best minds of old China engaged in drafting the new law, but they also announced that it would not be promulgated until the people were ready for it. Their intentions were good, but they waited too long. After twenty or more years of the "Republic" and eight of Kuomintang rule, China is still waiting for a constitution, for popular government, for a bill of rights, while the people are being ground down by the officials of a regime which promised them relief from their sufferings. Like the Manchus, the Kuomintang is long on promises but short on delivering the goods.

It is too much to expect that the people of China will await patiently until their new masters have sucked them dry and ground their bones, while holding out the promise of relief. The time must arrive when in desperation they will turn to the outside for assistance in the same way that their masters, the Kuomintang, obtained help from Moscow to impose its rule over the country and bought the loyalty of the masses through promises of better times and a surcease from misery. The declaration of independence on the part of the people of Manchoukuo and the manifesto issued by the East Hopei Autonomy Committee tell us in no uncertain language that the limit of human endurance has been reached. The Kuomintang has waited too long.

The Will of Heaven

Nanking as usual, will denounce and hold Japan responsible before the world for the autonomy movement in North China. That seems inevitable and her allegations will be accepted in Geneva and Washington as evidence, if such were needed, of further Japanese aggressions and as vindication of the verdict now standing against her for the same crimes in Manchuria. Do we remember how old Spain held the United States responsible for loss of colony after colony and her cronies in the Holy Alliance refused to recognize and were planning to apply sanctions against the new republic? Let our minds wander back to 1898. Do we remember when at the last moment, Canovas del Castillo was willing to grant immediate autonomy and concede every demand of the United States in regard to Cuba? Do we recall how McKinley communed with God all through the night and the next morning sent his Message to Congress asking for war? Nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the United States. Procrastinating Old Spain had waited too long, conceding justice only when war with America seemed imminent and, then when war came, she lost all. This is what happened to Spain for holding up the "plans of Providence." Let us recall one short passage in that inspired Message:

"The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smoulder with varying seasons, but it has not been and it is plain that it cannot be extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop."

Delete the word "Cuba" and insert the word "China" and we have the picture of conditions in that country.

And, what was the war in Cuba about? Was it not an insurrection against the rule of Spain, the natural longing of an oppressed people for independence, a desire created by living next door to the nation who had shown them the way? How long had this war for independence been going on? Three years. What made the United States determine to put a stop to it? Listen;

"WHEREAS, the Government of Spain for three years past has been waging war in the Island of Cuba against a revolution of the inhabitants thereof, without making any substantial progress toward the suppression of said revolution, and has conducted the warfare in the manner contrary to the law of nations by methods inhuman and uncivilized, causing the death by starvation of more than two hundred thousand non-combatants, the victims being for the most part women and children, inflicting intolerable injury to the commercial interests of the United States, involving the destruction of the lives and properties of many of our citizens, entailing the expenditure of millions of money in patrolling our coasts and policing the high seas in order to maintain our neutrality and WHEREAS this long series of losses, injuries and burdens for which Spain is responsible has culminated in the destruction of the United States battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana and in the death of two hundred and fifty of our seamen,

"RESOLVED, ... that the President is hereby authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end, and with the purpose of securing permanent peace and order there, and establishing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent Government of their

own in the Island of Cuba. And the President is hereby authorized and empowered to use the land and naval forces of the United States to execute the purpose of this Resolution."

That was how the Will of God was interpreted by McKinley and how Congress was impressed with his Mandate from on High. Strange how God remains deaf to the cries of distress from another people who for twenty years have been starved, massacred and sent to their deaths by the millions. With the deepest reverence for the God of McKinley, my God also, I believe he still moves in his own mysterious way his wonders to perform. I refuse to believe that the God who spoke through McKinley and plunged the United States in war on behalf of 200,000 Cubans is the same God who now speaks through other American Prophets who insist that 500,000,000 defenseless people must be held together under one government in Asia while millions are slaughtered in the interminable carnage to impose the rule of one man, one faction or one Party over all the rest. God has not changed in thirty-five years. The God of McKinley still rules and will make His Will known in His own good time. Might He not choose as the instrument to lead His children in Asia out by bondage, one of their own race? This may seem like blasphemy to orthodox Christians. Yet these lowly peasants of Cathay have their own deeply ingrained respect for a Divine Providence which watches over their affairs, expressed as the Will of Heaven, the same principle and conception of the Almighty as invoked by the West. Who will dare to affirm that Heaven is not making its wishes known through the only medium and in the only way it can make itself heard in this mad world of to-day?

Just Propinquity

It is to be expected that Japan will be accused of and censured for having incited the people of North China to declare autonomy. No matter how loudly or how often she protests her neutrality, she will not be believed. Her one consolation is that she cannot again be haled into court and submitted to a searching cross-examination where her every statement will be twisted by her judges into an admission of guilt. Yet the picture seems clear and points the way out for the myriads of Cathay. Given a demilitarized zone anywhere in China under the protection and guarantee of Japan, the League, or any single Great Power and the people will rise in revolt against being bled-white to pay for the upkeep of the armies of a distant and, to them, alien war-lord, maintained to hold them in perpetual subjection. It does not require any prompting from the outside for the inhabitants of such an area to soon understand the exact situation. Whether such a zone be located next door to Manchoukuo, across the border from Indo-China, Burmah, or adjacent to Shanghai, the effect on the people would be the same.

What keeps the Chinese armies out of Shanghai? Why was the semi-communist 19th Route Army, composed of Cantonese divisions, brought to Kiangsu and why did it entrench itself outside the boundaries of the Settlement which enclosed the richest loot of all Cathay? Is not the presence of the Foreign Forces within the International and French Settlements the sole and compelling reason that the Chinese armies remain on the outside? Evacuate the 3,000 or more American, British, French and Japanese forces and withdraw the warships from the Whangpoo and within twenty-four hours the armies of Chiang Kai-shek would march down Nanking Road and take over control of the Port.

Why did so many influential foreign and Chinese property owners and ratepayers advocate a change in the status of the Settlements to that of a Free Port under the jurisdiction of the League? Why did the Japanese Army insist on delimiting a demilitarized zone around Shanghai in settlement of the Incident of three years ago? What alone has saved Tientsin and Peking from being sacked? Why are the people of Manchoukuo now living peacefully and prospering? The evidence seems irrefutable that whenever and wherever Chinese armies are prohibited from operating, the people soon learn the ways of democracy and demand a larger and larger share in the administration of their own affairs. It does not require the coachings of the Japanese to teach a duck how to swim. All the Japanese have to do to inoculate the people of North China with the virus of autonomy is to encourage travel back and forth between Manchoukuo and points south of the Great Wall. The Chinese themselves will do the rest. There is a diplomatic term for all this. "Geographical propinquity," they call it

in the treaties. It acts to spread ideas, something contagious, just in the same way that dear old Moscow hopes to conquer China and then the world. Of course, Communist ideas enjoy special privileges now. Moscow sits in the Council of the League and her methods are beyond criticism. Moscow is not responsible for what has happened in China nor can she be held to account by Japan for jeopardizing her existence. The same old story. Moscow's plans to dominate China by the infiltration of its ideals is within the law. Japan's attempt to counteract these principles and start the Chinese out on the road to real Democracy are illegal and a violation of treaties. No wonder she has turned her back to the world.

Is Japan to Blame ?

Sure, Japan is to blame, just as the United States is held responsible by Spain for the disintegration and loss of her Empire, as the Manchus have the same reason to condemn us for spreading the gospel of democracy along with our religion. True, we were innocent of any ulterior motives. We never openly preached, encouraged or incited rebellion. The mere force of our example and the indoctrination of our ideals was all that was necessary and wherever in any part of the world the opportunity presented for an enslaved people to free themselves from oppression they lost no time in taking advantage of it, justifying their acts by invoking the principles and mouthing the phrases learned by rote from American text-books. The American Government remains above suspicion. But it goes without saying that no such movement anywhere in the world can be started without agitators and outside inspiration of some sort, and investigation will disclose that behind most of these movements was the American educator, the American missionary, American impulse in some form or other. But it is also true that even such inspiration and moral support could have had no effect where the situation was not ripe for it.

There has been no government worthy of the name in North China for many years. Granted that the Kuomintang Government is a good government, it is an alien, that is, a Cantonese government, and no substitute for Hopei self-government. The requisites for self-government have been absent: the people have been ignorant of their rights with no conception of, or no qualification to put into practice any plan of self-government and, as has happened in all ages, such people become the prey and slaves of despots. If the Japanese have implanted in the minds of these people some conception of their rights as human beings then, it is all for their good and for the benefit of humanity as a whole.

It is merely a repetition of the moral support extended by American public opinion, to the Irish movement for Home Rule. If the Japanese Army for strategical reasons prohibits Nanking from advancing its legions into this region under the pretext of putting down this revolt, or if the Japanese Government sympathizes with the movement, has it not many points of similarity with the general American attitude towards Ireland? Basic security, transcendent strategical reasons would seem to demand that Britain retain complete domination over Ireland. But she waived it and is probably stronger to-day for doing so. Nanking might also find it more profitable in the long run to win the hearts of their Northern compatriots by a gesture of friendly concern and a recognition of their local or provincial rights than by mobilizing divisions to repeat in the North the horrors that marked the progress of consolidating its rule in the Yangtze Region.

Towards the Goal

All this may seem a defense of Japan. It is not. Japan may or may not have violated the spirit of the Nine Power Treaty. If the other Eight Signatories agree among themselves that she has been unfaithful to her pledges, experience tells us that all the arguments brought to bear in justification of her conduct will be rejected. The views herein expressed are intended more as a vindication of the right of the people of any part of China to demand from their rulers the recognition of the basic principles of all good government, the right of representation, the right to a voice in the management of their own affairs, the elementary rights of human-beings that since the beginning of time every people have fought and died for. I do not care from what quarter the impulse comes, whether from within or without, whether spontaneous or forced, it represents one more step forward towards that goal of provincial independence and the ultimate coming together of these separate

entities in a bond of real unity, into a confederation of free states that will enable China to take her proper place in the Family of Free Nations, the realization of that dream which inspired its Great Leader Sun Yat-sen and which those upon whom his mantle has fallen, are committed to bring about.

It May Lead to "Wang-Tao"

Now I am not dogmatic about all this. I am willing to admit that there might be a different awakening to this beautiful dream. I recall the tombstone in the country graveyard with the epitaph: "Here Lies Little Willie, Age Seven, He Died and Went to Heaven." To which some sceptic added, "You Can't Sometimes Most Always Tell, Perhaps Little Willie has Gone to—the Other Place." So it may be with North China. It is not improbable that all this movement for self-government, liberty, democracy and what-not, may resolve itself into a demand for "Wang-Tao." The people of North China may decide in due course to restore the system of government they understand, join with Manchoukuo and request the Manchu Emperor to return to Peking and take up his residence in the Forbidden Palace. They may elect to live under that form of Democracy that has succeeded so well in Britain, a crowned-republic, better known as a constitutional monarchy. If Japanese influence counts for anything, it is a foregone conclusion that it will exert itself in favor of the crowned-republic with the Son of Heaven as Head of the State.

After all, the struggle we are witnessing in China is not so much one for economic or political dominance or even preferment, as it is a conflict of ideals, with monarchists, republicans and communists seeking to impose their respective forms of government on the whole country. The Monarchy gave place to the Republic, and the Republic was being pushed out by the Commune. The struggle for ascendancy between the Republic and the Soviet system is still undecided. For the moment, the "Republic" has driven the Communists out of their stronghold in the Yangtze Valley into North China where they menace the peace of that region and the security of Manchoukuo. Left to pursue its course unchecked, the Communist movement will repeat in the North the practices which produced such horrors in the South. The "Republic," that is, Chiang Kai-shek, very adroitly maneuvered the retreating Reds into close proximity to the "Monarchy," which must now move to defend itself against this menace. Aside from all other considerations of security, desire to confer advantages on the people of North China, set up autonomy and partial independence, is Japan's desire to keep the Communist influence from invading and contaminating Manchoukuo and, through that territory, Korea and Japan itself.

The Communist armies have already penetrated into the Suiyuan district and entrenched themselves. They have broken through the cordon of Chiang Kai-shek's legions in various other points. They are far from being subdued. They still constitute a real menace. Unlike the troops of the conventional Chinese war-lord the Communist armies are intent solely on establishing Soviet rule and overthrowing the existing order of society. That they retain close relations with Moscow is apparent from the speeches made at the convention of the Third Internationale and from the columns of any of the Communist organs which faithfully chronicle their movements, proclamations and other doings. It is useless to contend that there is no connection between the Kremlin and the Red Leaders in China. Camouflaged for the moment for political reasons, their movements are incontestably directed from the outside to overthrow the established order in China and Manchoukuo. Japan would be false to her own interests, should she close her eyes to the significance of this movement and permit it free scope to develop. Nanking has demonstrated its impotence to suppress the movement. It has merely pushed the menace from close proximity to its own sphere of influence into regions where the duty of suppressing it devolves upon Japan. Japan has therefore a special interest in the development of autonomy for mutual defense against the Communist armies in regions where her own vital interests are placed in jeopardy.

Which explains the keen interest of the Japanese Army in these developments and its threat to adopt drastic measures should the Red menace be permitted to approach too close to its sphere of strategic security.

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GREEN LIGHT—Pointing the Road to Peace

The Balance of Power, Integrity of China and Necessity for Big Navies Being Relegated to the Scrap Heap by the March of Events in China

HERETICAL THOUGHTS

WITH the above examination into actual conditions it becomes more and more apparent that the paramount duty of the United States is to preserve the territorial and political integrity of the Republic of China. We may scrap the Monroe Doctrine, decline to raise the question of the "Freedom of the Seas" and surrender every other basic and traditional policy of the Nation, but the unimpaired independence of the undefined geographical area designated on the maps as "China", remains sacrosanct. It is this stern, uncompromising and rigid adherence to legalistic forms, combined with a declared intention to hold Japan in an inferior naval position, that more than anything else has alarmed the thinking people of Japan and fixed the program of its army and navy. It makes all talk of peace a mockery and deprives the words of Mr. Baldwin of any meaning.

London, Washington and Geneva have coined a choice assortment of stock phrases and maxims accepted by the man-in-the-street as the creed of a new world religion and those who examine too closely into the principles on which they are founded and dissent from the conclusions proclaimed from the rostrums of the anointed, are as much heretics to be disciplined as those apostates who only a short century or so ago were haled before the Inquisition and condemned to expiate their unbelief at the *auto-da-fé*. To hold or express opinions differing from those who pose as the messiahs of the new dispensation is to court ridicule, social ostracism, professional extinction and business boycott. Yet we humbly venture to assert that there is another side to the case against Japan and Manchoukuo, a side that was rejected by the Lytton Commission and by Geneva, even when signed and sealed memorials from all the public bodies of Manchoukuo were duly presented to the Secretary General of the League as evidence of their will and wishes for independence. Manchoukuo did not exist for the League. Therefore the thirty million people who inhabit that territory had no rights under the law, no opportunity to testify in their own behalf or through counsel. This right they will never be permitted to exercise under the new law promulgated by an American Secretary of State and incorporated into the law of Nations by the Gods of Geneva.

"The Balance of Power"

As we prate of peace, the same old preparations are being pushed to maintain the established balance of power. What is this *ignis fatuus* that lures each succeeding generation of Anglo-Saxons into the abattoir? Has it changed during the century since John Bright delivered his celebrated speech on "Foreign Policy" in which he cited the endless and sanguinary wars of the period of William III (1689) as wars "to maintain the liberties of Europe" and others "to preserve our old friend, the balance of power"? "Since that time", he continued, "we (Great Britain) have been at war with, for, and against every considerable nation in Europe. . . . we have been all round Europe and across it over and over again, and after a policy so distinguished, so pre-eminent, so long-continued, and so costly, I think we have a fair right—I have at least—to ask those who are in favor of it to show us its visible results. Europe is not at this moment, so far as I know, speaking of it broadly, and making allowance for certain improvements in its general civilization, more free politically than it was before. The balance of power is like perpetual motion, or any of those impossible things which some men are always wracking their brains and spending their time and money to accomplish."

That great speech, delivered on October 29, 1858, aptly describes the world in 1935. We are still pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of the "liberties of Europe" and "the balance of power", only to-day we have found new slogans with which to dupe and dope a generation whose grandfathers' fathers marched against their

brothers shouting the battle-cry of Freedom, and whose fathers embarked for the greater slaughter to the strains of "Over There"! And where, in John Bright's time, it had already cost the people of England 2,000,000,000 pounds sterling, to-day it has brought the entire world to the verge of bankruptcy, checked the upward march of humanity, made a mockery of peace founded on justice and is now preparing for the next general massacre. And in carrying the picture down to the year of our Lord 1935, let us quote from John Bright's speech of October 13, 1853, before the same Peace Society that listened recently to Stanley Baldwin's equally eloquent oration. We quote his exact words to ask why this generation of Americans must go to war for the preservation of the balance of power, which, as far as we are concerned, means the maintenance of the Open Door, that is, the political and territorial integrity of China.

"Surely", he said, "sane men ought to consider whether the case is a good one, the ground fair, the necessity clear, before they drag a nation of nearly 30,000,000 of people into a long and bloody struggle, for a decrepit and tottering (*Ottoman*) empire, which all the nations of Europe cannot long sustain."

And when we apply this same argument to the 120,000,000 people of the United States who are being dragged against their will and without their knowledge into a war to maintain intact a decrepit and tottering state in Asia, which will not unite or lift a hand in its own defense, the very idea is transformed from a doctrine of urgent national necessity into criminal folly.

The Challenge of the Figures

In the words of John Bright, I believe that we, the American people, also have a fair right to ask those who are in favor of it to show one tangible or visible result from the Open Door Doctrine or the Balance of Power as represented in the preservation of the "integrity of China". We have the right to demand from our Government the balance sheet showing where we stand on this doctrine. If it is for the promotion of trade the results will show in the balance sheet.

The figures before us would seem to indicate that in the last fifteen years we are out-of-pocket nearly a billion dollars and probably two billion if we go back to 1898 when John Hay promulgated the doctrine. We are now to spend more billions to defend our right to remain in business as a charitable institution. Have we not paid enough for a doctrine which has committed us to defend the trade and investments of other nations in China? Ask the Chinese people what they think of it, if you can find anyone who knows what it is all about, other than a pledge on our part to save them from the punishment of Japan when they overstep the bounds.

We do not have to ask the Chinese. We have their answer before us. Go wandering through the countryside and look at the pitiful coffins of the thirty or more million unfortunates exposed to view over the length and breadth of this vast charnel-house and this may convey some idea of the price that has been paid to date, the advance payment for the great boon of territorial integrity. Is not this sacrifice enough? Are we now to send a few million more Americans, Japanese and Britons to keep the thirty million company in order to prove that the statesmen were right? Will such a further shedding of blood bind the Chinese any closer together? It may result in some sort of a forced union, but that is not unity. We may tie them together, but unless we remain on the ground in force, the bonds will dissolve into what they are to-day, a rope of sand.

Fortunately, the facts are slowly being grasped by the American people. On many occasions in the past I have invited attention

to the figures and the balance sheet of our trade with China and have been penalized and boycotted for daring to tell the truth. Early in the year, in "The Case for Manchoukuo", I urged;

"Every American of voting age, young and old, fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, grandfathers and grandmothers, should demand of their Congressmen and Senators the balance sheet of our trade with China for the last three decades. They have a right to know what they may be expected to fight for. They have a right to have before them an itemized statement of that trade, an itemized statement of our investments in China and a full and exact statement of the amounts contributed for missionary and uplift work. The people of this country should further demand a comparative balance sheet showing the investments and trade of other nations with China."

If the reviews of that book are any criterion, the message has gone over. Before me is a copy of *The Japan Advertiser* of December 8, containing a front page article from its correspondent in Washington analysing American trade with China and with Japan, giving the figures which are causing a readjustment of American commercial opinion about the Orient and which must result in a revision of policy. These figures bear out the analysis now familiar to our readers, and the conclusions derived therefrom.

"This realistic appraisal", says the article in question, "of the Pacific situation was made in a highly influential non-government quarter, for no other reason than to indicate the possible difficulty that the United States may have in keeping its political policies in the Far East in line with the predominant economic interests of American business. **The orientation of American policy thus far, it was pointed out, has abundantly demonstrated that the United States Government has not been appreciably swayed by the economic consideration.**" And that is the whole story in a nutshell. (The article published by *The Japan Advertiser* appears elsewhere in this issue of *The Far Eastern Review*.)

No study of the trade statistics will support or justify the American Government in adhering to its traditional Far Eastern policies. Reluctantly, the student comes to the conclusion that the trade doctrine is merely the screen to conceal the political objective to maintain at all hazards the territorial and political integrity of what is known as "China".

Turkey and China

For over seventy years, the British Government resolutely maintained the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as a vital strategic policy to keep Russia bottled up in the Black Sea and so guard the approaches to India. In other words, to bolster up that same old, unstable English gentleman, the Honorable B. P. Every move of British policy is Asia and the Near East during that period was made to counteract some overt or underhand act of Russia's; more than half the crises by which Britain has been confronted arose not from Western but Eastern Europe in defending India and its approaches from a Russian attempt to break through her strategic wall of protection from Suez to Bhamo. And all for what? To keep in power the most brutal despotism "reeking of mutton fat and carnage" that ever came out of Asia to prey on the lands and peoples of Christendom. But there are few now who, looking back, would not recognize that it would have been better for the world at large had the British been willing to co-operate with other states in the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, even though a policy of this kind might justly have been characterized as aggressive.

American statesmen have apparently learned nothing from these lessons of history. In the same way that Britain fought war after war to maintain the integrity of a rotten, corrupt, decadent and unspeakable empire in Europe, so the United States is committed to a similar policy to perpetuate the integrity of China in order to maintain the balance of power in the Pacific. Not until the doctrine of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire went into the discard as a result of the World War and a new and smaller Turkey set up in the place of the old despotism, did it begin to show signs of reformation.

In ten years, the new Turkey has transformed itself from a semi-feudal Oriental country into a respected modern state. But what was good for Turkey will never be permitted to apply to

China. It must remain intact. Even the people within the country will not be permitted to exercise their right to declare autonomy, let alone secession. China is China and must remain China, even though broken into fragments. As Turkey, up to then considered a barbarian nation, was taken into the Family of Europe in 1856 on a plane of full equality, merely as a bulwark against Russian encroachment in the Balkans and to keep her navy confined to the Black Sea, so China has been taken into the Family and elevated to the rank of a Great Power, even while extraterritorial law prevails, merely to build up a bulwark against the possibility of Japan's expansion on the mainland, and create a balance of power that could not otherwise operate.

The unchangeable law of the Medes and Persians known to contemporary history as the Nine Power Pact, supplemented by the equally sacrosanct commandment engraved on the tablets of the Peace Pact, forever holds China intact. It may work. But it will require something more than words and pacts to mix the cement that will bind the parts together. As long as the American Government adheres to its unshakable policy in regard to the indivisibility of China, just so long must the Nation maintain a mighty fleet to support and enforce it. The American people will be called upon to pay the price. Whether it is worth while, can be determined only after the bill has been presented and the balance sheet drawn up.

Japan Seeks Peace

Some time last month, the venerable Minister of Finance of Japan told his cabinet colleagues that the limit had been reached for army and navy appropriations. He scouted the idea of war, pointing out that the deplorable economic situation in all parts of the globe acted as a deterrent to war and warned that the Empire could stand no further drains on its limited revenues. He urged a peaceful settlement of outstanding questions, in which he was upheld by all other Ministers except those representing the fighting services. Japan's capable Foreign Minister, Koki Hirota, with a single-track mind has persevered against the greatest of odds in a policy of conciliation towards China in the hope of laying the foundation for an amicable settlement of all questions.

Viewing the situation from the sidelines, the recent utterances of British statesmen hold out the hope that if Minister Hirota could have a free hand, he stands some chance of scoring, if only a temporary success. Experience based on a knowledge of history and the traditional practice of Chinese statecraft, however, tells us that Mr. Hirota will never be conceded that freedom of diplomatic movement upon which success must necessarily hinge.

First, because the "Republic of China" is a legal fiction, given a semblance of reality by treaties and agreements between a group of Western Powers keenly jealous, suspicious and watchful of each other, determined that no one of them shall gain an advantage over the others. Hence the indivisibility, the inviolability, the enforced integrity of a group of states whose only claim to function as a nation is a common racial characteristic which differentiates them from the people of Europe. As the four hundred-odd million Europeans of the same color are divided and subdivided by language, customs, economics, geography and other special conditions into thirty-five independent and sovereign states, so the 500,000,000 people of Cathay are similarly split into nearly as many separate, distinct and discordant nationalities fiercely determined to defend their independence.

As it required centuries of warfare in Europe to break down the idea of the Single State or "The Empire" as it was called, and establish the independence and sovereignty of its component tribes, the same stupid methods are at work to-day in Cathay, but with this difference. The tribes of Europe could settle their quarrels without the intervention of any outside superior race. The Chinese will not be permitted this freedom of action. They must conform to the law laid down by the West and remain the Single State. The endless wars which impoverished and depopulated medieval Europe have been transferred to Far Cathay to disgrace the pages of Twentieth Century history all because a group of Western statesmen refuse to recognize that it is impossible to keep one-quarter of the world's population under one government.

Principles which define nationality and sovereignty in Europe and America cannot be applied to China. But as the conception of the modern state gradually changed the map of Europe into its present picture puzzle, so the same impulses will eventually split China into its component parts. Treaties and conventions

devised to maintain 500,000,000 people under one government will never work.

But we of the West insist that it must work. Eight of the most interested nations have entered into a blood-brotherhood to keep China intact as they found it a century or so ago under the rule of the Manchus. Just like returning to the days of the Empire in Europe. Should one of this brotherhood take advantage of any occasion, even to defend his own life and property, that might disturb the equilibrium, it can never be recognized. Whatever advantage may accrue to him as a result, can only be temporary, to be surrendered when all the others can unite to make him disgorge.

Where Sea Power Ends

The situation is a counterpart of the one created when the British drove the French out of India and the latter prepared for a return when the opportunity should arise. "You cannot flatter yourselves to remain absolute masters of Hindustan", Du Bussy said to Clive in 1767. "Believe me, we have not given up India. Our claims lie dormant at present and we shall lay them when we can assert them with the sword." As in 1767, so it is in 1935. "To assert them with the sword required as its preliminary, sea-power, without which the sword could not reach India." And as in building up this sea-power, Britain seized Mauritius, the Cape, Ceylon and eventually all other stepping stones along what is now the All-Red-Route, so to-day, new trails are being blazed, new stepping stones painted another color on the map, marking out the landing places on the long, long Pacific Airway to Cathay, the dream of 20th Century Empire, the mart where 500,000,000 prolific consumers hold out the illusory promise of profits before which the picayune pickings of "John Company" fade into insignificance.

The All-Red-Route leads to India and stops there. Singapore stands not as a stepping stone to further expansion towards the Spice Islands and beyond, but as the sentinel, the outpost guarding the prize already won against a surprise attack from that direction. Sea-power as it finds expression to-day is merely the gradual evolution of a system of defense to hold the booty that a handful of English adventurers wrested from the Rajahs. Based primarily on home security, it has been stretched as far as it will operate safely. Beyond Singapore, it ceases to become effective.

The greater spoils of Cathay cannot be garnered from the West. The rapid growth of Japan's sea-power behind an almost impenetrable screen of islands and far-flung outposts has handed this prize over to a maritime race whose domination of the Eastern Seas was set back in 1636. When the Tokugawa Shoguns prohibited any further intercourse with foreign nations they checked the natural propensities of the sea-rovers of Satsuma, those counterparts of the Drakes and Hawkinses who ruled the seas of the East north of Singapore and inspired such respect as caused the Chinese to line their coasts with castles and walled cities and maintain huge fleets of hundreds of war-junks and guardships from Shantung to Kwangtung.

Had American statesmen of the 'fifties studied Japanese history, they might have hesitated before dispatching Commodore Perry on a mission that, in opening Japan to the world, released these vikings of the Eastern Seas from their enforced confinement on land. Once freed they returned to their element, and there we find them to-day, just where they were when Iyeyasu Tokugawa pulled them back to the land. The mistakes of three hundred years have been corrected in less than half a century. They know these seas from one end to the other and are applying the same tactics, the same strategy, the same policy and the same programs upon which the major sea-power of the world has over the centuries adhered to as essential to its own preservation and expansion. Their conception of sea-power is one of defense, sufficient to guarantee at all times their security and independence.

Temporarily, at least, they have restored their natural supremacy. The long arm of British sea-power cannot reach beyond Singapore. If applied, it may even be forced to evacuate that outpost and fall back on its main lines of communication and defense which terminate in India.

The Other Side of the Door Ajar

Britain undoubtedly foresaw the time arriving when her sea-power could no longer extend effectively beyond Singapore and

protect adequately her huge stake in China and, in anticipation of such an eventuality, conceived the Open Door idea and passed it on to the United States to promulgate and sponsor. After the World War, she again passed the buck to make it appear that the United States initiated and sponsored the new doctrine of naval imparity. There exists sufficient corroborative evidence to support this statement but it is set forth in the most unmistakable language in the taboored book entitled, *The American Black Chamber* in which the author, the official American code expert, says that the suggestion to have the United States sponsor the Pacific Conference came from London. The telegram stated that "it was desired to have the invitations appear to proceed from the American Government and not to have it appear as the plan of the British Government. Just why the British Government desired this, I have never understood", concludes the expert.

The Washington Conference fixed the limit of naval armaments so that in the event of any severe disturbance of the balance set up to preserve the integrity of China, the combined American and British fleets would outnumber that of Japan three to one, the ratio that all naval experts hold necessary to wage an offensive war in Far Eastern waters. The whole house of cards built up by the Naval Pact and its correlated treaties came tumbling down when Japan moved to defend a railway in Manchuria deemed by her vital to the preservation of her strategic and economic security. Before the onslaught of the 1,200 determined Japanese Railway Guards, the army of Chang Hsueh-liang fled and with it went its jackals, the civil officials, tax gatherers, etc. What followed was merely the natural evolution from a state of lawlessness to one of law and order under a provisional government, which declared its independence, a situation unforeseen and unprovided for by the Japanese when they struck out in defense of their property. Notwithstanding all the charges that everything was carefully prepared in advance, responsible Japanese I have talked with all assure me that they had no intention to go beyond the protection of their property and chastise the regiment responsible for the trouble. What followed was an "Act of God."

But these Acts of God are not recognized as such when they happen outside a certain well defined area on this old globe of ours. When they follow the activities of Japan, for example, they become automatically machiavellian, if not an outright work of the Devil. They did in the case of Japan. She has been adjudged guilty of disturbing the balance stabilized at Washington and the fiat has gone forth that whatever has resulted from her resort to self-defense can never be recognized by the United States or the League. Coached by their Western advisers and legal counsellors, the Chinese in turn say that although willing to meet Japan and settle all outstanding questions in a friendly spirit, they cannot recognize the accomplished fact in Manchoukuo. Everything but that.

Overturning the Balance

The example of the people of Manchoukuo, followed by their blood relations in North China, convey to the rest of the world the warning that the Chinese people will, in time, decide their own form of government and determine for themselves whether or not they are to remain intact as one state, split into independent units or, join together in some form of federated union under a General Government with delegated powers. Whether this is to be a confederation of independent states, a "crowned republic" or constitutional monarchy or a combination of both, with the Yellow River or the Yangtze as the dividing line, only the future will tell. China will disintegrate to again unite.

The point of the argument is simply this. The reasons which existed fifteen years ago for the preservation of the political and territorial integrity of "China" no longer apply. Changes from without, as witnessed in Russia's amputation of Mongolia, of Japan's intervention resulting in the independence of Manchoukuo and from within, as seen in the independence of the Southwest and the Autonomy movement in North China, have relegated the Nine Power Treaty into the discard. It may be true that these changes have been hastened and made possible by pressure from without, that the independence of Manchoukuo and Japan's activities and policies since 1931 have influenced, if not compelled, these changes in the North, but it is difficult to prove that Japan has broken the law. No matter what her motives are, they have been conducive of good. If the moves of Japan result in inculcating in the minds of the Chinese some idea of what a republic should

be, if self-government in Hopei is set up and the five Northern Provinces are recognized by Nanking as independent states, part of a future Chinese federation, then a long step forward has been made towards the goal of democracy, the alleviation of human suffering, and a limitation of armaments.

In other words, events in China are marching rapidly towards a solution of these problems while Foreign Powers intent solely on their trade profits and preservation of the balance of power, are adhering tenaciously to their medieval conception of diplomacy and again sending their delegates to London to stem the tide and preserve the balance set up fourteen years ago at Washington.

The Old Order Passes

The old order is passing in Cathay. A new era is opening for the people of that distracted land. Washington and London are just about forty years behind the times in their Far Eastern diplomacy, still dreaming in terms of doctrines and principles founded on a state of affairs that long ago ceased to exist. Secretary Hull and Sir Samuel Hoare apparently do not accept this view, insisting that changed conditions do not call for any change in the old outlook on this part of the world. On the other hand, Japan, whose very existence has been placed in jeopardy by these changes, declines politely to meekly sacrifice herself and commit suicide to perpetuate a situation which, in denying to her the right of self-defense, exposes her to danger. If the Western Powers decline to recede from these old policies which, boiled down to their essentials, mean the development of a strong China, the consolidation of power in the hands of one supreme overlord, and conceding to him all the time necessary to impose his rule, regardless of the sufferings or the wishes of the people, they must shoulder the responsibility. Such a policy serves notice upon Japan that she will be held strictly to the terms of an outworn treaty until China is strong enough to humiliate and vanquish her, a challenge no proud-spirited people can ignore.

Neither the people of China or of Japan will accept the implications of such a policy. If the Chinese do not of their own volition and initiative revolt against the despotism so forced upon them, the Japanese have no alternative than to educate and instigate them to demand their rights. If the other Powers can stand by with folded arms and watch Communist ideas spread over China to the point where they have split the nation asunder and now menace the existence and institutions of Japan, they can have no reasonable objection to Japan starting a back fire in the same peaceful way. If Soviet Russia is upheld in her plans to conquer China through the penetration of Communist doctrines, then Japan is equally justified in spreading the idea of autonomy in order to check and set up a balance against the other system. To hold otherwise, is to be devoid of common sense.—G.B.R.

The Breath of Liberty

(Continued from page 457)

Whether or not such action constitutes a violation of the Nine Power Treaty remains a question that must be threshed out between Japan and the other Signatories. If other Nations because of their geographical situation are unafraid of Communist doctrines and propaganda, Japan who is next door, is candidly and openly alarmed over its spread and determined to prevent its infiltration into her territories. It would seem therefore to be a matter that primarily concerns Japan and outside the scope of the Nine Power Treaty. In fact, with considerable justice Japan may contend that the menace of Communism is the direct result of the operation of that treaty and, as none of the other contracting Powers evince any inclination to denounce or revise it, it is up to her to take such measures as she deems most appropriate to defend the territory of her Ally against any possibility of Communist invasion as the sole guarantee that her own institutions will not be undermined. If the other interested Powers invoke the provisions of the treaty to compel Japan to abandon her right to

self-defense, it would seem only equitable that they dispatch their armed forces to China to undertake the task of suppressing the Red menace or, stand aside while Japan does the job that geographic propinquity imposes upon her.

It may appear at the moment that Japan is acquiring some sort of advantage over the other Powers, that she is exerting undue influence to create unrest and the desire for a change. It may appear to others that she is following faithfully the program laid down in the apocryphal "Tanaka Memorial." To others again it may seem that she is adhering to what the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* of December 11, 1934, called the "Saito method," quoting him as follows:

"If we (Japan) think that it is necessary for Far Eastern peace, we will swallow North China, no matter what attitude the other Powers may assume. Moreover, Japan will pursue the policy that it believes necessary for the organization of the Far East, according to the Japanese plan, even if it means war with Great Britain and the United States."

I do not remember when Ambassador Saito uttered these remarks which, however, seem to be in line with the doctrine announced by Mr. Amau and supported by certain statements of the Japanese Army. At least they are understandable and reasonable in the light of the Communist movement that threatens to engulf all China and endanger the existence of Japan herself.

I do not attempt to contradict or minimize the importance of these statements, but with a deeper understanding and grasp on certain aspects of these problems, I hold firmly to the belief that with or without the aid or encouragement of Japan, the forces that have been unleashed in China will carry everything before them and in due time will triumph. Japan cannot conquer or impose her rule on China and if I am qualified to judge, she has no desire to do so. Her program, one of self-preservation, is fixed and fully explained in the three basic points laid down by the combined Japanese Foreign Office, Army and Navy for the guidance of their diplomacy.—G.B.R.

Probing the Issues

(Continued from page 452)

in China; it reinforced this by stating that it will not recognize any situation brought about contrary to the Peace Pact of Paris, and the League acclaimed the American policy and promulgated it into a new law of Nations. As this is written (December 1st) the newspapers carry the dispatch from Nanking to the effect that the Chinese Foreign Office after lodging a formal protest with the Japanese Government against the autonomous agitation in North China, notified the foreign ambassadors that it refuses to recognize any of the actions of Mr. Yin Ju-keng, initiator of the autonomous regime in the demilitarized zone.

Despite the fact that this is a purely domestic Chinese movement originating in the North from the complete breakdown of Kuomintang authority, with its consequent anarchy—a repetition of what occurred in Manchuria—we find the Chinese Ambassadors in London, Paris, Washington and elsewhere, living up to their time-honored diplomacy, confiding confidentially to the Governments to which they are accredited, that China is being coerced by Japanese diplomatic and military force into another situation from which she will emerge with a further impairment of her sovereignty and integrity. That is to say, that Japan is again violating the Nine Power Treaty. And while Sir Austin Chamberlain sensing the danger ahead, advocates the recognition of Manchoukuo as a step towards a permanent solution of these disturbing questions, Secretary of State Hull launches out in a carefully worded statement against any violation of the treaties, a veiled warning to Japan that she will be held responsible for the autonomy movement and any alteration it may bring to the existing setup in China. Let us examine some aspects of these questions in a further article.—G.B.R.

Out of Manchoukuo!

Revolutionizing the Steel Industry

Electric Wave Applied for the Reduction of Metal Ores

JAPANESE publications carry so many articles on new inventions in engineering equipment and original scientific discovery which do not always pass the paper stage or work out in large scale practice, that we have hesitated to give them such publicity as their merits seemed to call for. On the other hand, we have witnessed so many successful new engineering appliances and chemical processes, evolved from European and American practice or invented by the patient, persevering Japanese mind, that we are never surprised when some new and startling innovation is announced.

Interpreting Japan's engineering advance is at times embarrassing and delicate because of the difficulty in translating Japanese technical literature into good English. In that, they have the advantage over us, as the best in all languages is readily translated into Japanese, but it is no easy matter to translate their technical literature into understandable English. For this reason, the outside world is maintained in ignorance of the wonderful advances being made in this country in every line of engineering and technical endeavor. The average uninformed Westerner still clings to the delusion that Japan is a mere imitator and this belief is sedulously spread throughout the world by competitors to disparage the quality and efficiency of her engineering products. But like many other stories derogatory to Japan, this also is pure propaganda. The truth is that Japan has long since passed the imitative stage and is now well along the road to invention, taking the initiative in research and in solving problems that are rarely encountered by the scientists of more favored nations.

It is overlooked that next to the United States Japan has more research laboratories than any other country, that her universities, staffed with expert talent, are concentrating on technical education and, that a new generation of forward-looking young men, barred from seeking a career outside their country, have accepted the alternative forced upon them. Here we find a new type of engineer, not content merely with finding a job on graduation, but intensely patriotic and determined to win a place for himself in the solution of his country's problems upon which its very existence, politically and economically, so largely depend.

In the same indomitable spirit that the army and navy of Japan are confronting the issues forced upon them by the policies of the stronger Powers, the engineers, technicians and scientists are co-operating to make the nation self-sufficient in the event a crisis is precipitated. The possibility that the Nation may have to face such an emergency has spurred the Japanese technicians to probe deeply into every phase of their industrial life. History tells us that national necessity is the mother of great inventions and as military and naval leaders emerge from comparative obscurity to lead a people to victory, so equally great minds invariably appear in times of stress with some new invention which revolutionizes the art of war and decides the issue. The Japanese are possessed of that superior inventive spirit and will to win. Such a nation will not remain static. Japan is now well along what may be called the creative state, heart and soul intent upon perfecting her industries and becoming stronger and more prosperous.

In the article from *The Tokyo Nichi-Nichi* which follows, we get a glimpse of how and in what direction this spirit is working. Here we have an example of how we of the West, confident in our supremacy and the enjoyment of inexhaustible natural resources, are inclined to treat with disdain the idea that we can be dislodged by an Asiatic people. We confess to a lack of sufficient knowledge to understand the process outlined in the *Nichi-Nichi*. There may be nothing to it. It may only be the germ of a new idea, but if it works out and can be applied in large scale practice it will revolutionize the steel industry. The mere fact that Dr. Honda has been impressed with it and the Japan Government Iron Works and the South Manchuria Railway Company, operating the largest iron and steel works in Manchoukuo, are reported to have held up important orders for furnace equipment from Germany to investigate the claims of the new process, is evidence that it has stood the test of the best steel experts of Japan. And while

reading the following article, let the fact sink in, that this young inventor is a graduate of a Japanese technical college in Port Arthur and that he worked out his ideas in a laboratory in Dairen. Politically, of course these cities are Japanese, located in the Kwantung Leased Territory, but geographically, they are part of Manchoukuo. Many surprising things are due to come out of Manchoukuo and it is well to keep an eye on that country and try to cultivate it. The South will probably have to pay the bill for our foolish policy of non-recognition of this state and it would be ironical indeed, if some bright young Japanese from Manchoukuo should now put our steel industry on the spot.

"The day when any desired metal can be smelted, tempered, or refined from the crudest ores by an electric wave may not be far off. Hideyuki Kikuchi, 20, graduate of the Ryojun Institute of Technology has proved it technically possible. The idea is to commercialize his process.

"The young inventor applied for patents, not only with the Japanese government, but with 15 governments abroad, for which he paid the fee of Y.15,000 on December 4.

"On his graduation from the institute in 1929, Mr. Kikuchi entered the Manchuria central laboratory maintained by the S.M.R., but resigned.

"His electric beam wave smelting method, which he conceived while he was with the S.M.R. laboratory, was laughed at in the early days by his colleagues and seniors as an idle dream. Convinced he had hit upon the right idea, however, he returned to Tokyo, where he established a modest laboratory with his meager resource at 243 Nishi Sugamo 4-chome, Toshima-ku. This was shortly after he resigned from the staff of the S.M.R. laboratory.

"He worked day and night and early last fall he perfected a process whereby he succeeded in dissolving ores mixed with fuel in from 30 to 60 seconds, when a beam wave of certain strength was applied.

"Dr. Kotaro Honda, president of Tohoku Imperial University and one of the foremost authorities on metallurgy, and Rokuro Sasaki, assistant professor of ordnance science of Tokyo Imperial University, when shown the process, are said to have been astounded by its merits.

"Dr. Honda in particular was so favorably impressed with the invention that he sent two of his assistants to the Kikuchi laboratory in Tokyo in order to grasp the particulars of the method more thoroughly.

"His invention is regarded by many as having outdistanced the present day applied science by 100 years. Because of this, the theory forming the backbone of the invention is difficult to understand even for experts, it is said. In fact, the authorities of the patent bureau are declared to have experienced no small trouble in grasping the rudiments at first.

"There is little doubt that a patent will be granted by the bureau before long, in which event Dr. Masatoshi Okochi, director of the Rikagaku Kenkyusho (Scientific Institute) and the Japan Steel Works at Yawata will extend definite aid for commercializing the process.

"In the event his method is put on a practical basis, the colossal Bessemer or other furnaces now used in steel making or other metal industries will no longer be necessary.

"Furthermore, iron sand, of which there is plenty in Japan, can be turned into high grade steel at a ridiculously low cost, and the annual importation of Y.200,000,000 worth of steel and iron can then be stopped.

"Besides steel and iron, such metals as iridium, tungsten, aluminum, and chromium can be produced at much lower cost than at present. Liquefaction of coal and extraction of nitrogen from the air can be greatly simplified.

"Both the Nippon Seitetsu Kaisha at Yawata and the S.M.R. Oil Shale Works at Fushun, upon hearing of the invention, reconsidered their intention of ordering larger furnaces from Germany."

The Soya Bean to the Rescue

COMMENTING on Colonel Frank Knox's reference in his Los Angeles speech on the possibilities of soya-bean cultivation in the United States and the certainty that in due course the American farmer, in addition to a heavy protective tariff to assure to him a monopoly of the home market, would demand an export bonus to enable him to compete with the "coolie grown" product of Manchoukuo in the markets of Europe, we drew attention in the November issue of this magazine, to the effect this may have on our future trade with Manchoukuo and the penalty we would most certainly be called upon to pay in the loss resulting from the Manchoukuo farmer turning his attention to the cultivation of wheat and other cereal crops.

The following editorial from *The Chicago Tribune* on this subject is illuminating. It tells us how far we have progressed in the cultivation of this staple and also conveys some idea of how our old position as an exporter of farm products has been reversed. The picture as we see it, would seem to indicate that this temporary relief to the American farmer through the cultivation of soya-beans is somewhat of a last resort, which if successful, can only make more difficult any return to our old position as an exporter of wheat, corn, rye and pork products. Certainly it leaves no room for any trade deal with Manchoukuo and hands the machinery market of that country over to the largest European soya-bean consuming nation which we have placed in the most favored position to make such a deal.

If Manchoukuo now turns to Germany and concludes some reciprocal trade pact with the German mission now on the ground, and they walk off with the orders for Manchoukuo's engineering requirements, including farming machinery, motor vehicles, and other lines in which America excels, it is interesting to ponder over what business we can hope to do with that country, even under the most favorable interpretation of the Open Door? We may not see the picture straight, but it looks as though we had deliberately closed and barred the door in Manchoukuo to any future American business in such materials that our manufacturers are best able to supply.

Had the American Government started out to support its diplomacy with economic sanctions in order to reinforce its Non-Recognition Doctrine, with the intention of penalizing the new

State, it could not have worked out a more effective formula. Still, it is well to look ahead and try to understand where all this will lead us.

"When in the spring of 1933 a cargo of soya beans cleared from a Chicago river elevator for Rotterdam, many were the inquiries as to 'What is a soya bean?' Visitors at the mechanized barn in the Ford Century of Progress exhibit had their curiosity well satisfied. It seems that in addition to being used as a food, an innumerable variety of articles, ranging from cooking oils to electrical insulating material and knobs for automobile gear shifts can be manufactured from this interesting little vegetable. It was further learned that the principal foreign demand for soya beans came from central Europe, while the only exporting producer of importance was Manchoukuo.

"Here was an opportunity for the American farmer. During 1935 the state of Illinois alone produced twenty million bushels, with bumper crops in the adjoining states of Indiana and Iowa. All through the fall receipts of soya beans in the Chicago market have led all other grains. On Monday morning one hundred and seventy-nine carloads stood on elevator tracks for unloading. Exports to central Europe have commenced and six cargoes have been booked that must clear to the seaboard before November 15, to which can be added several Swedish and Norwegian charters for soya meal direct from Chicago harbor to Denmark.

"But it is a bright spot in a mighty drab market. The American public is accustomed to thinking in terms of a golden flow of farm products from our prairie states to the seaboard and thence to Europe. Why not? It has been going on for years. In 1935, however, the movement has been reversed. The United States has actually imported nearly two and one-quarter million tons of wheat, corn, rye and pork products—cargoes for a fleet of five hundred ocean ships or a thousand vessels of the type that can navigate the St. Lawrence canals.

"The soya bean to the rescue of foreign grain markets for the American farmer! But what a Herculean task has been created through the combined efforts of the drought and the AAA."

American Trade With Japan Invites Revision of Policy

THE following article from the Washington correspondent of *The Japan Advertiser*, published in that paper on December 8, fully corroborates the trade figures and deductions therefrom advanced by *The Far Eastern Review* in its analysis of the Open Door doctrine. The same figures and conclusions were arrived at by Dr. James Trapier Lowe, of Georgetown University, in his article entitled "The Clash of Empire" which appeared in the November issue of this magazine:

"United States trade with Japan is now more than triple that with China, causing a tendency toward readjustment of American commercial opinion about the Orient.

"Strictly financial relationships with Japan are so much more profitable than those with China as to afford little basis for comparison. American business opinion maintains its traditional sympathy and goodwill toward China, with the result that the United States Government has not been constrained to abandon its long-established policies in the Far East. Nevertheless, the ever-expanding mutual self-interest, between the United States and Japan invites consideration of a '20th century' Far Eastern economic policy.

"This realistic appraisal of the Pacific situation was made in a highly influential non-governmental quarter, for no other reason than to indicate the possible difficulty that the United States may

have in keeping its political policies in the Far East in line with the predominant economic interests of American business. The orientation of American policy thus far, it was pointed out, has abundantly demonstrated that the United States Government has not been appreciably swayed by the economic consideration.

"Official statistics which were obtained bear upon the situation described. These show that American economic interests, at least when statistically regarded, have swung sharply from China to Japan since the commencement of the world depression.

"Japan's political and military pressure upon the Asiatic continent, the United States silver-purchasing program, the artificially high cost of American farm commodities such as wheat and cotton under the A.A.A., and internal economic embarrassments of China have all contributed to this situation, of which the duration can only be speculated.

"In 1934 the United States' income and debt service receipts from Japan amounted to \$24,364,000; those from China, \$172,000. Remittances to Japan by Japanese residents of the United States were estimated at \$3,451,000. An estimate for China was lacking, but remittances in previous years were variously estimated at from \$15,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

"United States exports to Japan from 1926 to 1930, on an

(Continued on page 470)

Prosperity of Japan's Steel Industry Depends Upon Consumption of a Large Tonnage of Scrap Iron

By JAMES A. RABBITT, Consulting Engineer to The International Nickel Co., Inc.

To say that the 1,200,000 tons of scrap iron purchased by Japan, from the United States, in 1934, is being reserved as a war material is about as ridiculous as to say that the 12,500,000 tons of scrap iron consumed in the United States during the same period went into munitions. Even such a comparison is hardly fair because the 50,000,000 ton per annum steel industry of the United States could carry on without the use of this large quantity of scrap iron (equal to 25 per cent of its steel production) through the country's available pig iron, while Japan's 3,000,000 ton steel industry could not possibly carry on at present without the 1,412,000 tons of scrap which was consumed in Japan during 1934.

This 1,412,000 tons amounted to nearly 50 per cent of Japan's steel production and the necessity for this percentage becomes apparent even to the layman with one glance at the country's production and imports of pig iron required for the production of steel.

PIG IRON MOVEMENT IN JAPAN PROPER
(in metric tons)

	Domestic Produc- tion	Colonial Imports	Imports from Man- churia	From other Sources	Total	Steel Ingot Produc- tion	Scrap and Old Iron Imports
1924	300,221	—	Unknown	169,024	469,315	Unknown	20,574
1925	685,178	83,587	104,891	316,359	1,085,394	1,300,203	43,784
1926	809,624	104,717	159,521	399,640	1,313,981	1,506,215	80,171
1927	896,171	102,668	198,919	472,947	1,471,786	1,685,242	224,137
1928	1,092,536	139,832	213,142	569,214	1,801,582	1,905,980	363,652
1929	1,087,128	137,598	195,150	654,055	1,878,781	2,293,840	487,947
1930	1,161,894	109,432	179,175	405,829	1,677,155	2,289,337	488,922
1931	917,342	95,127	242,147	399,448	1,411,917	1,883,125	295,600
1932	1,010,761	205,955	322,476	444,425	1,661,141	2,398,282	559,079
1933	1,423,889	160,429	453,999	641,396	2,225,171	3,201,424	1,012,961
1934	1,724,000	164,185	409,427	Unknown	2,502,000	3,659,000	1,412,983

It is quite apparent from the foregoing table that the yearly shortage in the supply of iron necessary to attain Japan's present normal steel production has been made up of scrap iron.

It is also apparent from this table that the domestic production of pig iron has been consistently about 50 per cent of the amount required for the production of steel.

In checking the supply of pig iron and scrap, as shown in this table, against the production of steel, it must be remembered that there is also a demand in Japan for approximately 500,000 tons of pig iron and scrap combined, to supply the cast-iron foundries throughout the country which are engaged in making machinery parts.

It must also be borne in mind that Japanese industrial civilization is comparatively new and even at present it is limited to a great extent to the urban districts, mostly on the Eastern seaboard. The suburban districts are still more or less in a wood and paper age and produce little scrap iron.

For example the yearly production of scrap iron and steel in the United States is estimated at 12,500,000 tons or 25 per cent of that country's steel production. The amount of steel in use in the United States is estimated at 750 million tons; consequently the production of 12,500,000 tons of scrap annually is equal to about 1.7 per cent of the amount of steel in use.

In Japan the total consumption (production plus imports) of steel and iron from 1896 (when the first open hearth furnace was operated) to 1931 inclusive, was equal to 34,085,185 metric tons or about 7/10 of one year's production in the United States of America.

If we take the same rate of scrap from this total as has been established as a basis for scrap production in the U.S.A. (1.7 per cent) there would be available in Japan yearly scrap amounting to 578,680 tons.

In 1930 the writer conducted a survey of the scrap iron available in Japan with the result that the total quantity held in stock in all the markets of Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Moji, Hakodate, Tsuruga and Wakayama amounted to 530,909 kilo tons.

It must be borne in mind that the economic principle formulated by the writer in his lecture at the Imperial University at Sendai, in 1931, tends to make the production of scrap in Japan less than it would be in the United States, in proportion to production or consumption. That is:

Where labor is cheap and material scarce (as in Japan), labor will be wasted and material conserved; conversely, in a country where labor is expensive and material cheap (as in Western industrial countries), labor will be conserved and material used freely.

As a result of this principle the free use of material in Western countries has brought about the development and selection of the best materials. First, because material is abundant and second, because the high cost of labor makes repairs uneconomical. The reverse of this condition prevails in Japan, that is, material being scarce, it is conserved to a point where low grade and even scrap stock is used.

There is another phase of this question which is worthy of study. The total dollar for dollar production of all industries of Japan compared with the United States of America is about one to twenty. In order to make Japan's steel production equal this same ratio it is necessary for Japan to produce 1/20 of the steel produced in the United States. Normally the United States produces fifty million tons of steel per year. This means that Japan should produce at least 1/20 of fifty million or 2,500,000 tons.

Let us examine Japan's steel production:

Year	METRIC TONS		Shortage of Production (made up by imports)	Over Production
	Total Production	Total Consumption		
1924	1,099,691	2,162,998	1,063,307	—
1925	1,300,203	1,725,589	425,386	—
1926	1,506,215	2,310,557	804,342	—
1927	1,685,242	2,502,889	817,647	—
1928	1,905,980	2,632,000	726,020	—
1929	2,293,840	2,937,384	643,544	—
1930	2,255,900	2,554,457	298,557	—
1931	1,662,858	1,724,859	62,001	—
1932	2,113,637	2,048,935	—	64,702
1933	2,863,155	2,816,719	—	46,436

It is significant to note from the foregoing how closely the ratio of consumption of steel corresponded to the ratio of production in all industries mentioned at the beginning of this article compared with the U.S.A. with no abnormal allowance for munitions.

It will be noted from these figures that only in recent years has Japan begun to produce nearly enough steel to provide for normal consumption. Now let us examine how they have been able to do this.

It is a well-known fact that Japan lacks a sufficient supply of coking coal and iron ore to produce enough pig iron for its steel production. The total iron ore deposits in Japan proper have been estimated at from 40 to 80 million tons. Allowing two tons of ore per ton of pig iron produced, this would be, if it were all mined in one year at the maximum figure, insufficient to produce one year's supply of pig iron for the United States of America and less than thirty-eight years' supply for Japan.

For Korea, the amount of iron ore reserves has been estimated at from twenty to thirty million tons. Obviously this is not all available at one time, but the production has been developed to the limit and still there has been a shortage.

It is quite apparent from the foregoing table that unless Japan has available sufficient scrap iron to make up the deficiency of iron required for her normal supply of steel, her steel production will fall off and she will be thrown back on to the dependency of imports for her normal supply of steel.

Let us examine the economics of the case. The necessity of a long haul of iron ore and the purchase of so much pig iron to meet Japan's requirements has boosted the price which she must pay

(Continued on page 469)

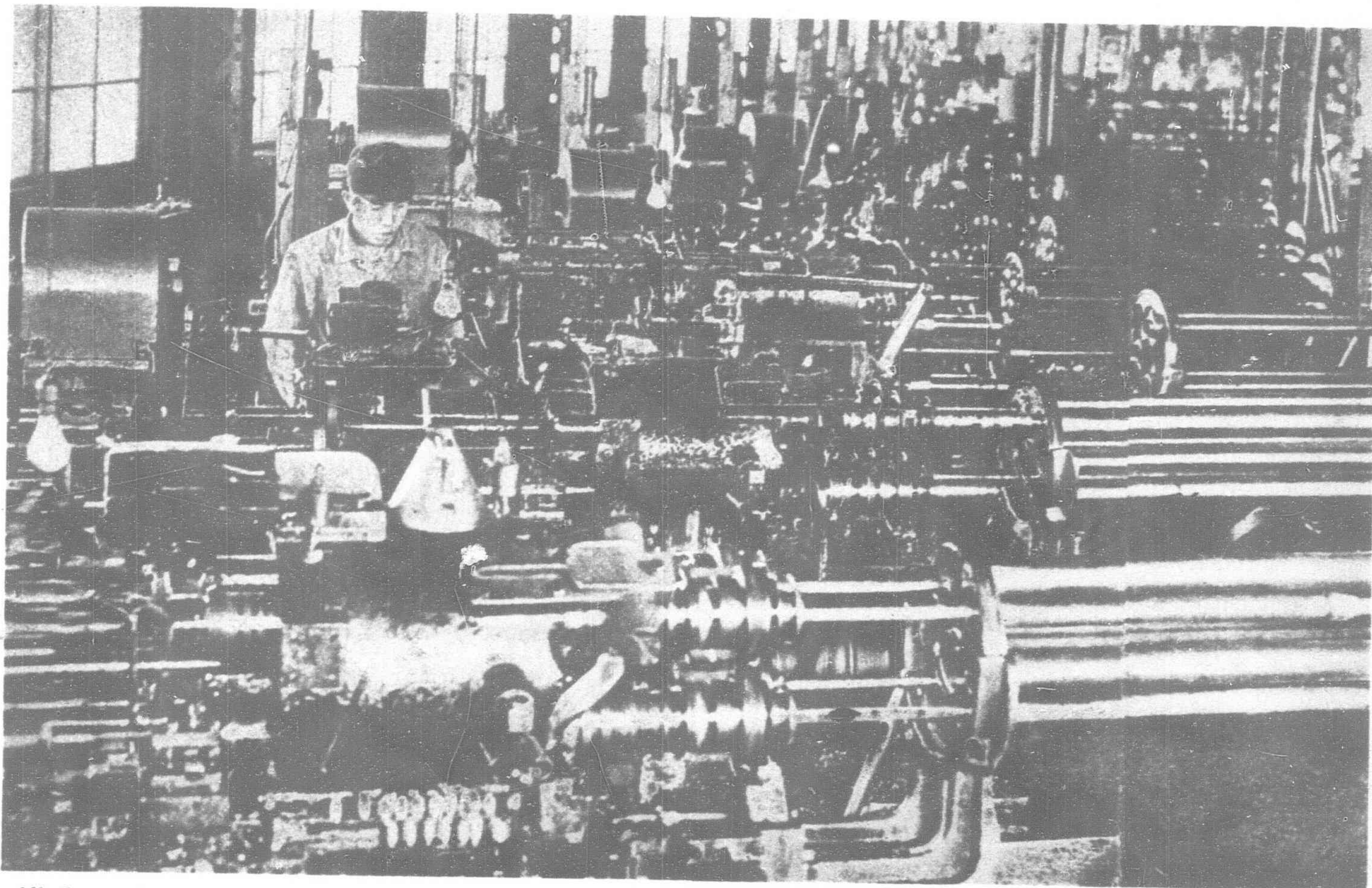
Mass Production in Japan

Japan Now Makes the Bicycles for the World: A Y.64,000,000 Industry

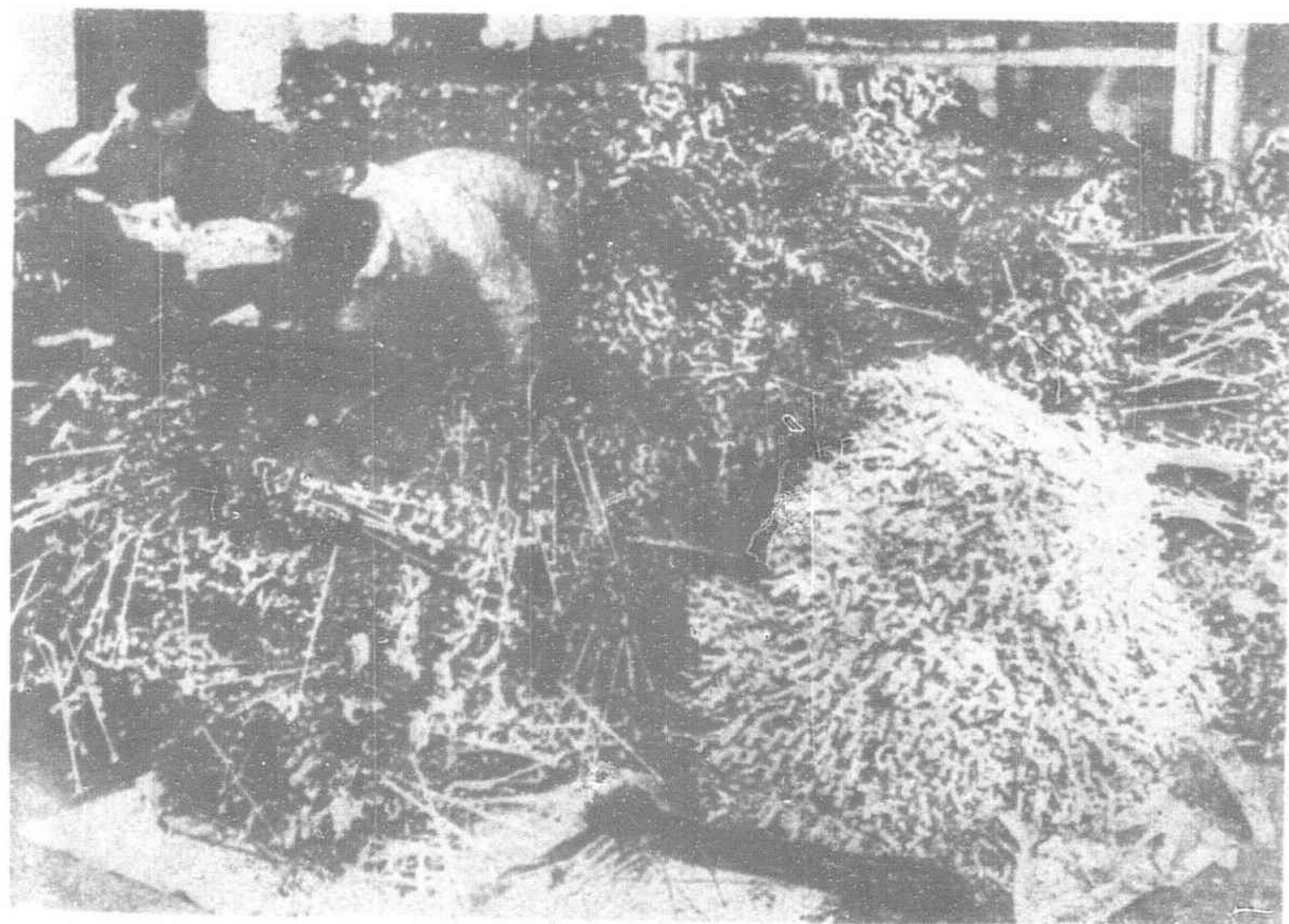
DUE to lack of modern roads and a sufficiently developed domestic demand, arising in part out of a lower purchasing power, Japan as yet has not succeeded in rivalling Western manufacturing nations in producing automobiles on a large scale, but where mass-production methods can be employed in turning out a product that meets the requirements of low price markets and the transportation needs of the people, she has fully

demonstrated her ability to meet all competition and even to excel in the quality and utility of her products.

This has particular reference to the manufacture of bicycles. Go where you will throughout the Far East, from Japan to Java, and the roads and streets are cluttered with bikes made in Japan. Wherever one goes in Japan itself, the bike is in evidence. In fact, Japan is a nation on two wheels. Every big and little store sends



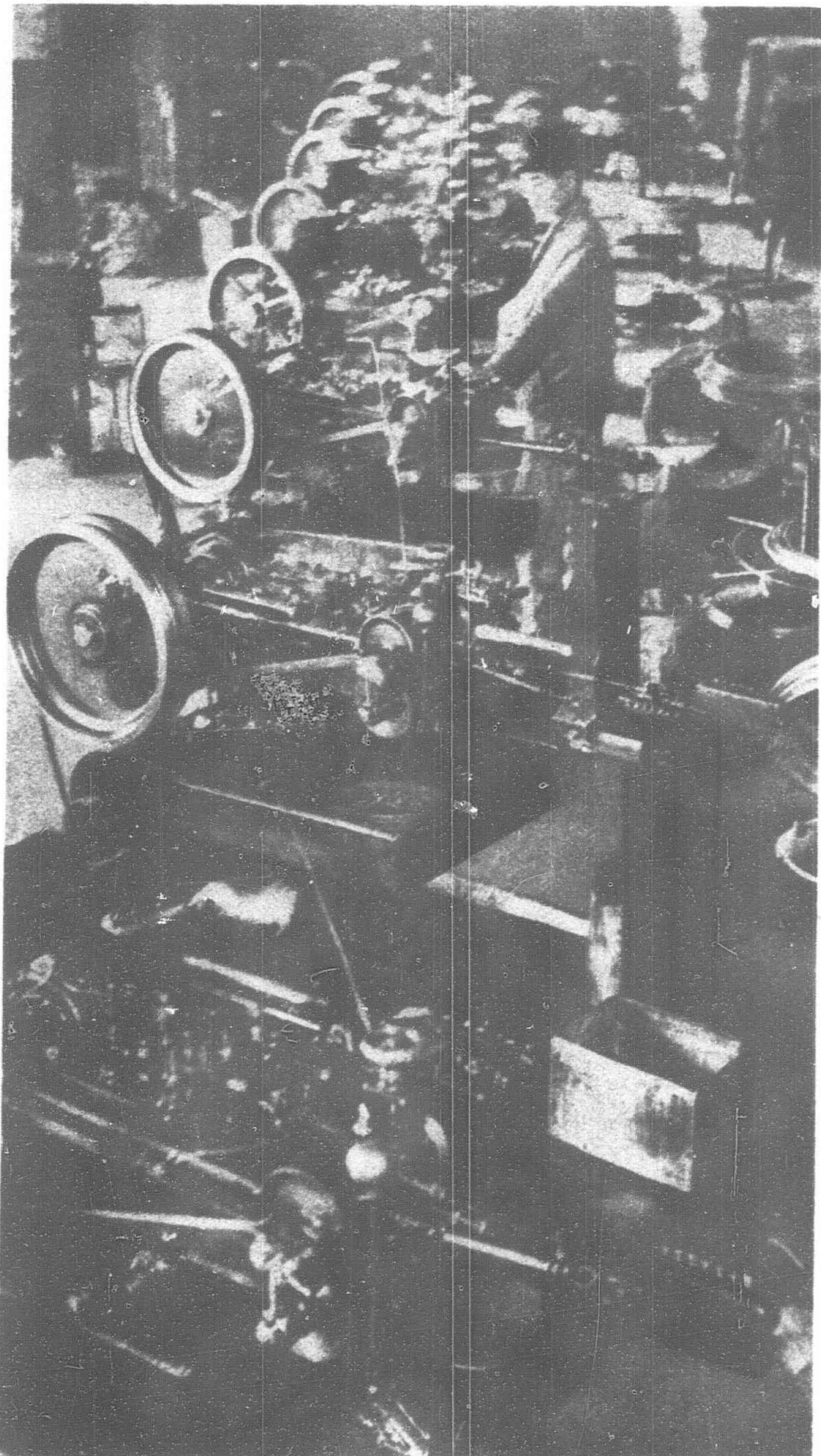
All the small parts which make up the Bicycle are made by different machines, the whole process being so complicated that only an expert can tell which part is being made by which machine



This is not the family supply of kindling wood but a mass of parts which go into the Assembly of Bicycle Brakes



Japanese-made Rubber Tires are now used all over the World. This picture shows one stage of their manufacture



A set of Machines used to Manufacture Driving Chains for Bicycles

its purchases to the householder by the two-wheeled delivery boy, in many cases even pulling a trailer along behind. The streets are lined with thousands of parked bicycles while thousands more dodge in and out of the dense automobile traffic. The total number of registered bicycles throughout Japan is over 6,500,000, which means that one out of every thirteen of its population rides a bike. Their manufacture has become one of Japan's largest industries, the annual output surpassing 3,600,000 machines, a large portion of which is exported. The price of the machines manufactured for export range from 7s.-6d. (for orders over 10,000) to £1-18s., the most expensive types being of high quality.

Mr. Guenther Stein in his admirable analysis of Japan's success in manufacturing and exporting her finished products, describes in his recent book "Made in Japan" a visit to a Japanese bicycle factory which helps to explain why these products can be made so cheaply and so good. He says:

"In another narrow side road, so typically Japanese, there are a number of small primitive workshops, one story high, made of wood and corrugated iron. Three hundred boys and young men are standing on the uneven floors of these workshops in front of small iron foundries, at modern shaping, paring, cutting and polishing machines, at galvanizing tubs, at tables for assembling and packing, and benches at which many of the machines needed for the production of bicycles are made.

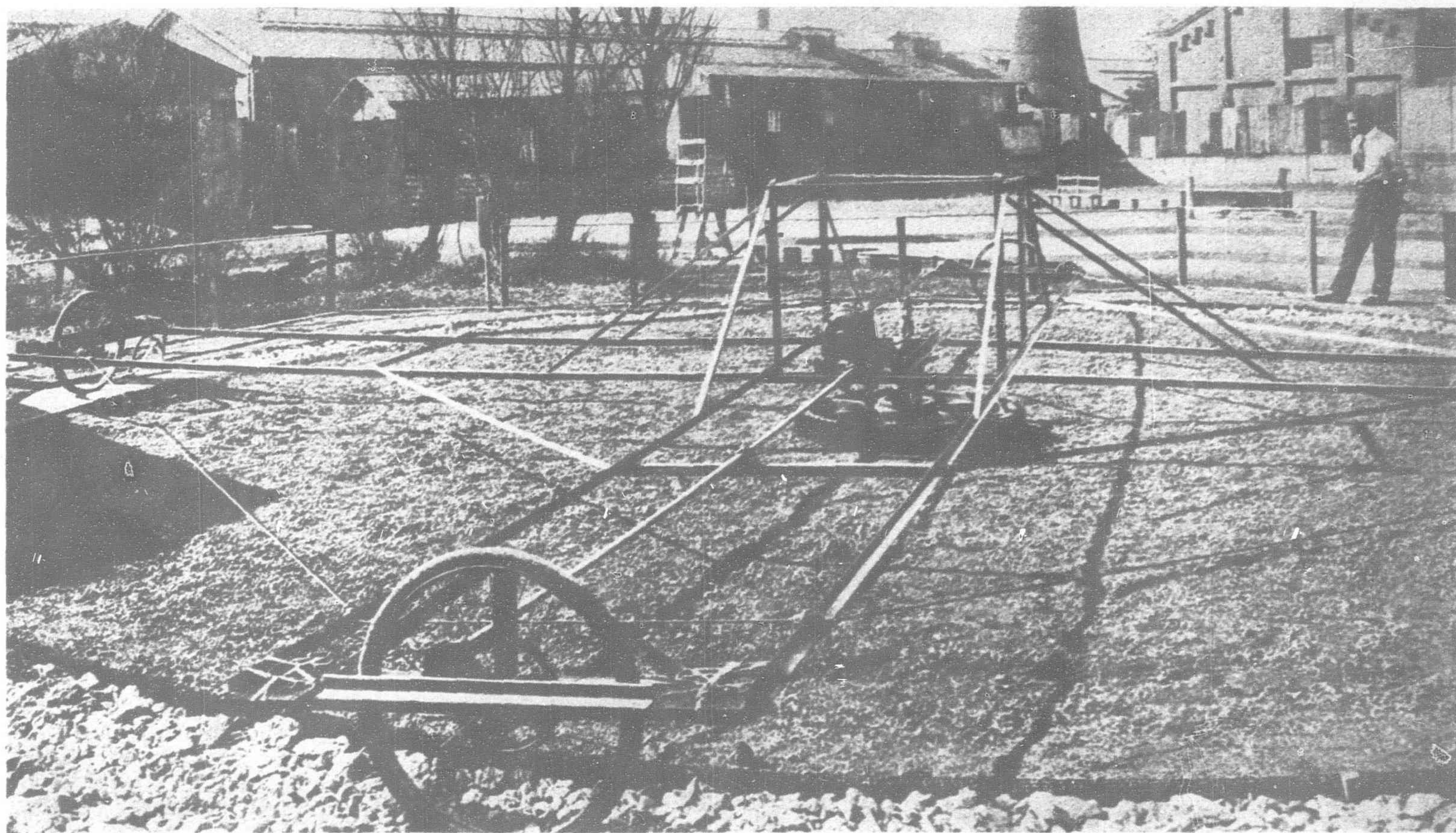
"This factory produces one of the best makes of Japanese bicycles. Almost every part is manufactured on the spot, from the crudest raw material to the finished frame. Only the wheels and a few of the parts are bought outside from handicraft shops or modern factories. Two hundred of the men working in this factory are apprentices; one hundred are regular workmen. They are all earnest, obviously intelligent, and concentrated on their work. They work from seven o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon with an hour's rest at noon, and apart from the national holidays (among others a five days' holiday at New Year) they have two free days a month. At present, as a result of the flourishing export trade, they work three and a half hours overtime daily.

"The apprentices are paid on an average 35 yen (£2-2s.) a month. Of this, in common with the regular workmen, they pay 12s. a month for their food, which is served three times a day in a simple clean dining-room. They sleep in dormitories near the workshops. These are small wooden Japanese houses, the rooms bare of furniture, except for the mats which cover the floors. Each boy is allowed two *tatami*, that is to say, twice the space needed by an outstretched man. The young men's belongings and by day, the *futon*, or Japanese beds, are kept in cupboards along the walls.

"The regular workmen, who live with their families, are paid thirty yen to 105 yen a month. The average wage is 60 yen (£3-12s.) a month—from which 12s. a month is deducted for food. Married men receive 6s. more. (As in Europe, 'outworkers' receive much less—an average of 30 yen for ten hours work a day, exclusive of meal times, is paid to an outworker making chains for a bicycle



Women workers polishing Pedal Parts before they are assembled



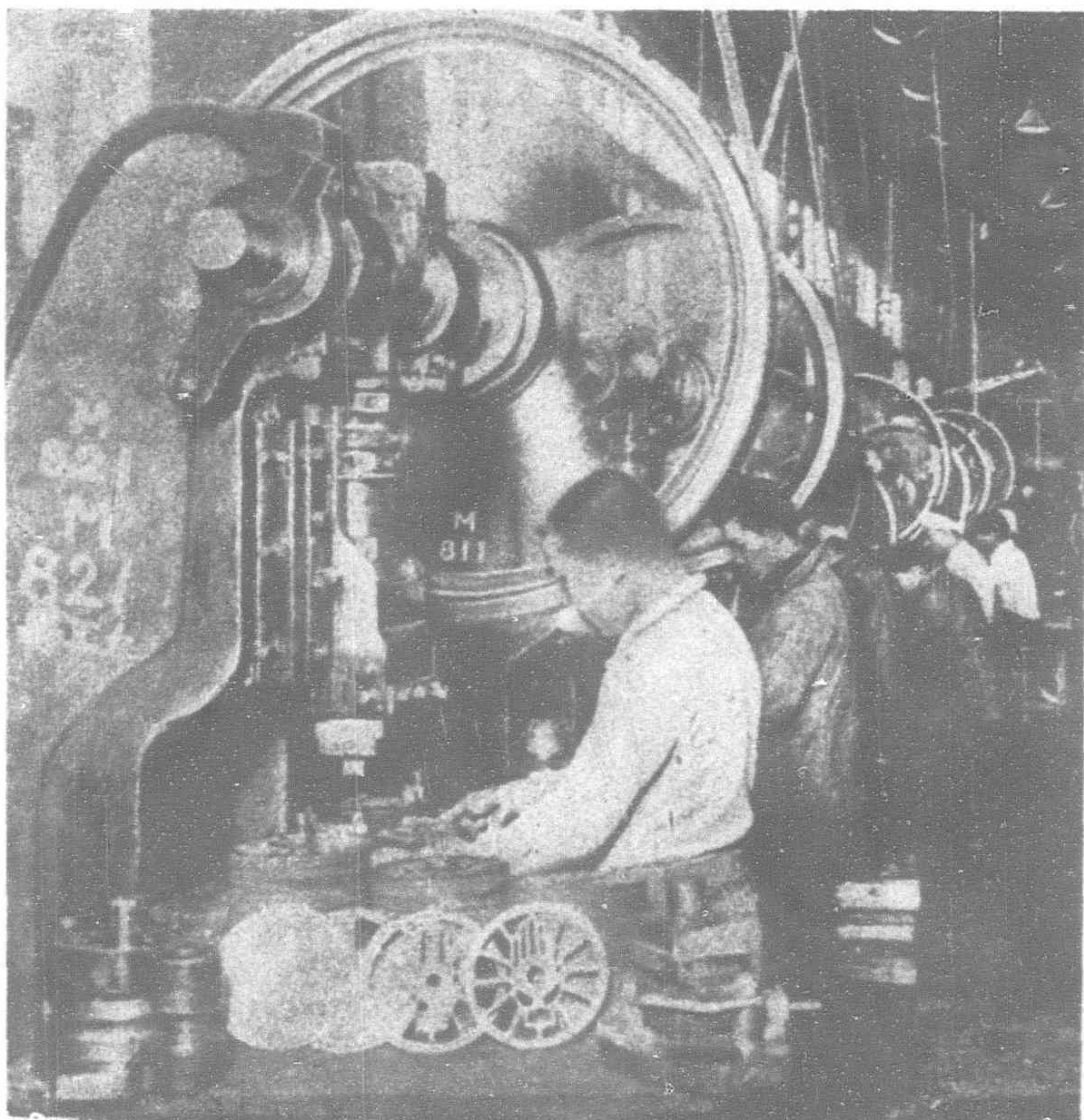
An Ingenious Device used to Test the Durability and Riding Qualities of Rubber Bicycle Tires

factory in Osaka). In addition, when trade is good, they receive a bonus of from £3 to £16 per year. A bonus of 6s. is paid when a member of their family dies; the same amount is paid at the birth of a child; a bonus of £3 is awarded when they marry, and when a workman dies his family is given £18. The workmen pay their insurance premiums themselves.

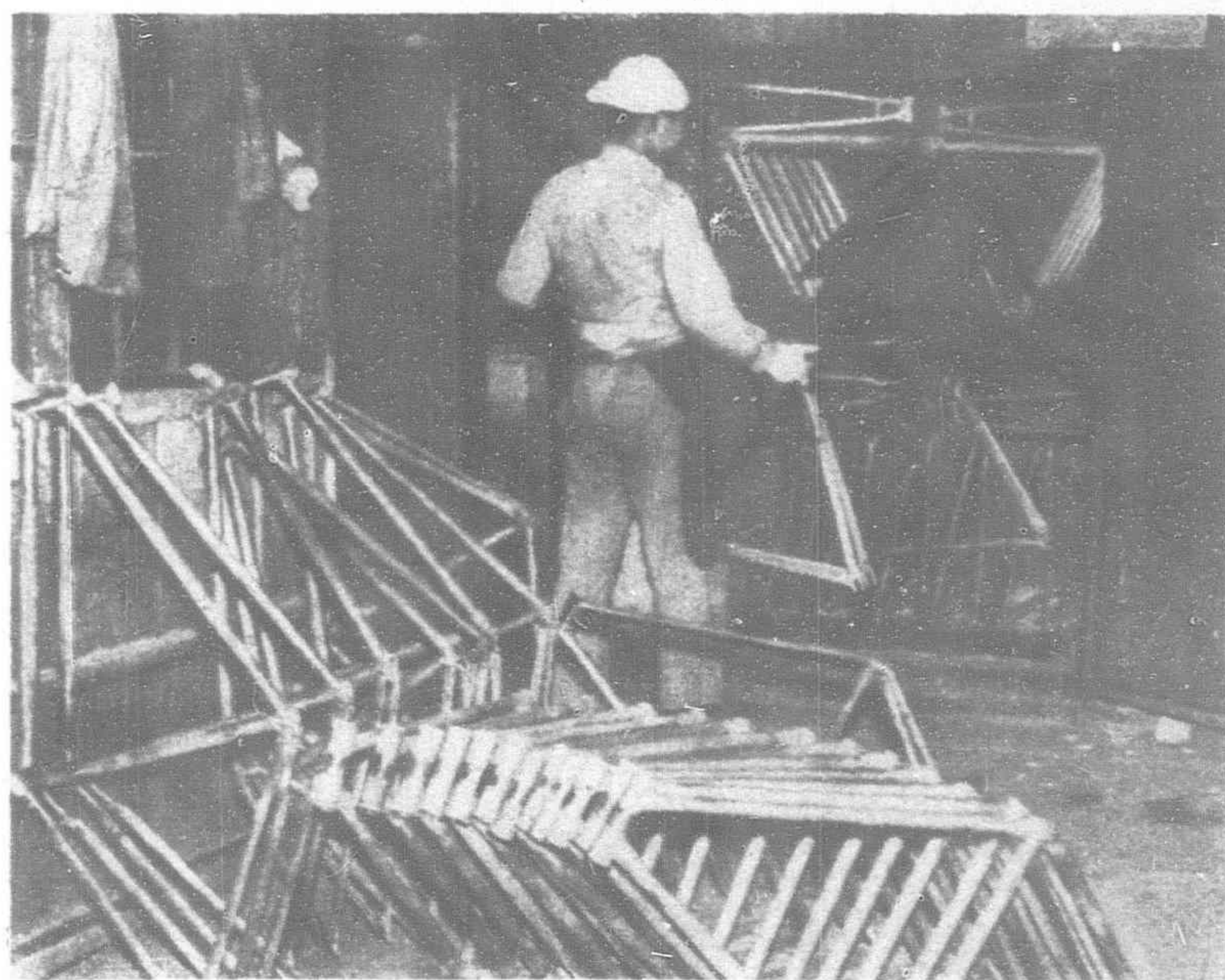
"The owner of the factory, a highly intelligent self-made man, is the technical director, the works manager, and the father of the working 'family' all in one. No expert, no trades union, separates

him from his workmen; the relationship between them is that which prevails in old handicraft plants. The foremen, half appointed and half elected, are the only supervisors in the plant. Their rôle is that of experienced craftsmen. Twenty of them, one from each department, form the works council. They wear a purple scarf around their heads, while the ordinary workmen wear red scarves, and the helpers wear yellow or blue ones.

"A whistle goes and the twenty members of the works council stand in line in the courtyard between the workshops. The senior member calls out to them and they bow low three times before their master and his guest, just as Japanese sons bow before their father. The most efficient workmen wear bronze and silver medals, and at the front of the factory, in the modest office, there is a card index with their records and their photographs. Every month a note is made of the production of each worker, of their 'experience', their 'responsibility', their 'devotion', 'kindness,'



The Gears are pressed out by Belt-driven Machines a row of which are seen in operation here



The Bicycle Frames are welded together, Enamelled and Polished by experienced craftsmen

'common sense,' etc. To a certain extent their wages depend upon these records. (It might be mentioned that the owner has never been outside Japan).

The wholesale price of the finished bicycles—about 200 are produced daily—is 30 yen (£1-16s.). This price is almost three times as high as that of the cheapest Japanese mass-production bicycles, but the former seem to be of really good quality. This factory which manufactures largely for the home market, has considerable export sales as well, and prints an attractive catalogue in English. It is typical of the second category of Japanese workshops manufacturing for export; super-handicraft establishments with modern machines, most of which are still served by hand. It is organized and managed according to patriarchal methods of handicraft tradition.

The report of the Department of Commerce and Industry on the bicycle industry shows a steady and healthy growth in the domestic demand and a phenomenal expansion in exports to all parts of the world, especially to neighboring and other Eastern Asiatic and South Seas countries. The report states that, in 1929, the production of bicycles and parts was worth Y.18,701,000. The following year production receded to about Y.150,000,000, but in 1931 and subsequently the output expanded with surprising uniformity. The 1932 production was valued at Y.22,000,000 and that of 1933, at Y.28,500,000. Figures for 1934 are as yet unavailable, but, judged by the way the domestic demand is augmenting and exports continue to hold their own, the tendency to a rising production must have persisted.

TABLE 1.—PRODUCTION OF BICYCLES AND PARTS

		Total value	Bicycles value	number	Parts
1929	.. ..	18,701	2,563	90,285	16,138
1930	.. ..	14,996	2,790	136,985	12,206
1931	.. ..	15,753	2,006	105,088	13,747
1932	.. ..	21,983	1,316	63,988	20,667
1933	.. ..	28,538	2,142	118,405	26,396

In referring to Table 1, wherein the value of parts far surpasses that of complete bicycles, the fact should be borne in mind that most of

the so-called bicycle factories in Japan are engaged in the manufacture of parts only, and but a few in assembling. Osaka, Tokyo, Aichi and Hyogo are the most important prefectures for bicycles production, their combined output being 90 per cent of the whole.

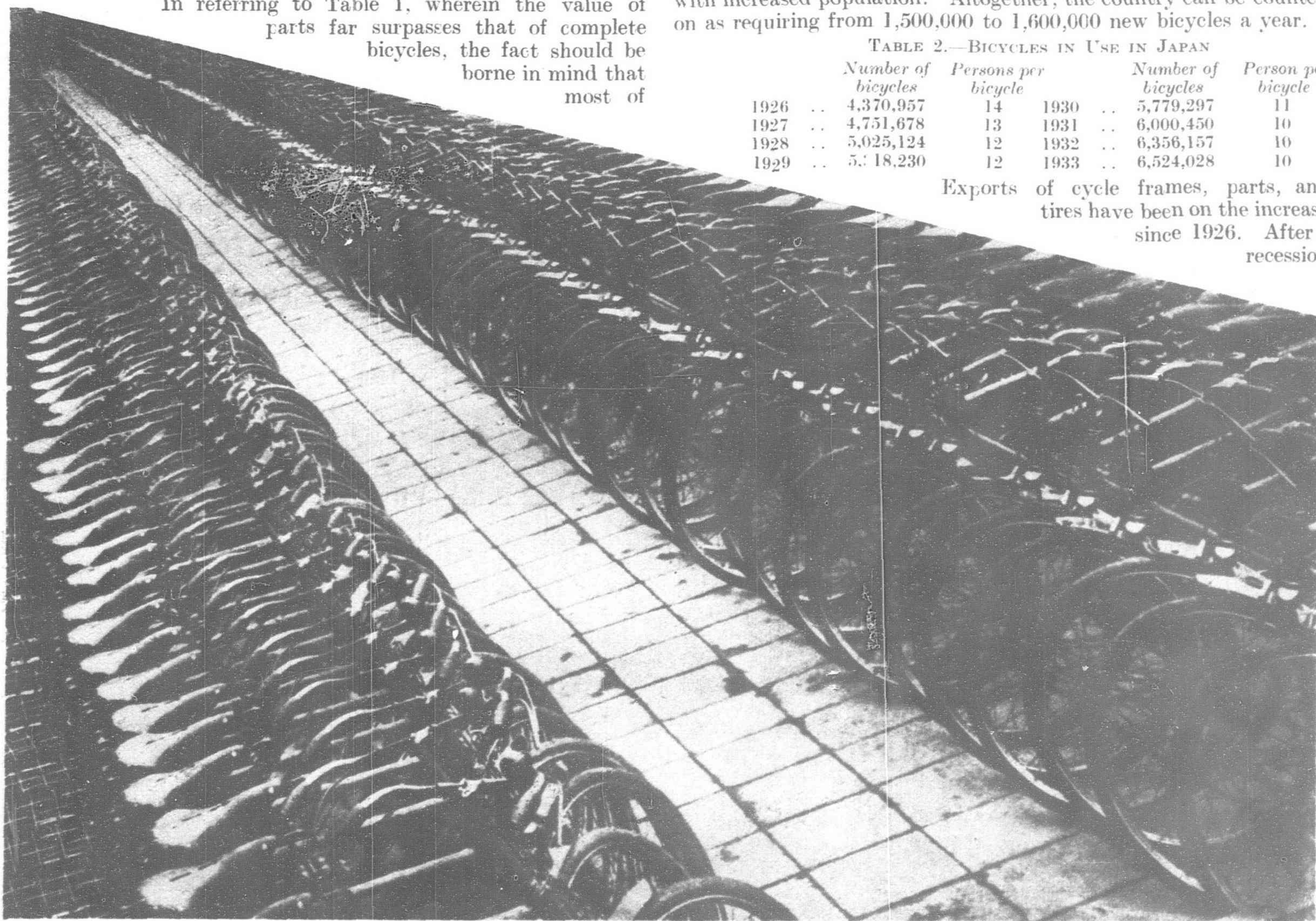
Because of the fact that production of bicycle parts does not require a high standard of technical skill, and that, when business is conducted on a modest scale, the necessary capital is almost negligible, a good many proprietors carry on on a basis suggesting the cottage handicraft system. The majority depend for the necessary labor on the women and young men of their own families. There are no authentic figures in respect of the volume and value of this class of production. But some idea can be gained of the combined production of the "Factory Law" plants and the "cottage industry" system from the number of bicycles in use. At the end of 1933 these amounted to as many as 6,524,000 for the whole of Japan. The life of a bicycle varies according to locality and other circumstances, ranging from one or two years in busy cities to as many as seven or eight in quiet provincial districts. However, inclusive of parts used for repair and assuming three and a half years as the average life of usefulness of a machine, approximately one-third of the bicycles enumerated will have to be replaced annually. This means that about 1,864,000 new machines are purchased, at an average price to the manufacturer of, say, Y.20 per machine, or Y.37,300,000. On this basis and inclusive of exports, the total 1934 production is estimated at Y.62,000,000. But if the life of a bicycle be computed at four years, then last year's production was worth Y.57,000,000, and if at five years, Y.51,000,000.

People have been under the impression that the bicycle, like the ricscha, would disappear from the streets as other means of transportation developed. But the contrary has proved to be the case, as the figures in Table 2 indicate. In the domestic market, the Hokkaido and Korea are regarded as promising, but other sections are not expected to keep up the pace of demand sustained heretofore. But it is also thought unlikely that its use will decline and there is the further consideration of a normal increase in keeping with increased population. Altogether, the country can be counted on as requiring from 1,500,000 to 1,600,000 new bicycles a year.

TABLE 2.—BICYCLES IN USE IN JAPAN

	Number of bicycles	Persons per bicycle		Number of bicycles	Person per bicycle
1926	4,370,957	14	1930	5,779,297	11
1927	4,751,678	13	1931	6,000,450	10
1928	5,025,124	12	1932	6,356,157	10
1929	5,182,230	12	1933	6,524,028	10

Exports of cycle frames, parts, and tires have been on the increase since 1926. After a recession



Bicycles sold to the Tobacco Monopoly Bureau by the Dai Nippon Bicycle Co., Ltd.

in 1930 and 1931, subsequent years have registered an expansion in geometrical progression. Exports were valued at Y.5,000,000 in 1931; at Y.8,000,000 in 1932; at Y.16,000,000 in 1933; and at Y.25,000,000 in 1934. Last year's export volume represented between 40 per cent and 50 per cent of the estimated production named above.

By far the largest percentage of exports is in parts. The Netherlands Indies, the Straits Settlements, China, British India, and Kwantung Province are the chief outlets, as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 3.—EXPORTS OF BICYCLES AND PARTS
(By years in Y.1,000)

	Cycles frames and parts	Rubber tires	Total value
1926	1,960	4,736	6,696
1927	1,879	4,942	6,821
1928	2,557	5,725	8,282
1929	3,420	6,301	9,731
1930	2,901	5,274	8,175
1931	3,297	1,901	5,198
1932	6,028	2,248	8,277
1933	12,115	4,308	16,422
1934	18,904	5,699	24,603

TABLE 4.—1934 EXPORTS BY DESTINATION (Value in Y.1,000)

	Tires	Bicycles and frames	Saddles	Rims, forks, and handle-bars	Other parts and accessories	Total
Dutch East Indies ..	2,561	785	350	872	3,270	7,838
Republic of China ..	918	469	183	611	1,852	4,033
Straits Settlements ..	994	439	262	600	1,761	4,056
British India ..	400	331	287	286	1,316	2,620
Kwantung Province ..	298	817	48	104	504	1,271
Other countries ..	528	1,485	213	240	2,319	4,785
Including Manchoukuo	74	127	25	164	430	430
Total ..	5,699	3,826	1,343	2,713	11,022	24,533

Apparently, the tendency toward expanding exports, manifest for many years past, is disappearing. The value of exports in the first seven months of this year was almost at par with the corresponding period last year, as shown in Table 5. The main explanation of this condition is in the Netherlands Indies' installation of a licensing system for the import of bicycles and parts, effective from January 21 last. The maximum volume permitted to enter is now 25,000 bicycles and 7,500,000 metric tons of parts—approximately the same as in 1933, and 35 per cent smaller than the actual volume of 1934. Outflow to the Straits Settlements has dwindled, but that to British India is holding its own. On the whole, however, the outlook for the bicycles trade in most parts of the world is not encouraging. The belief persists that this year's shipments may barely match those of last, or be only slightly better. Such

a belief is reflected in the market apprehension over a possible reduction in dividends by the Japan Bicycle Company, the leading manufacturer.

TABLE 5.—SEVEN MONTHS' TRADE (In Y.1,000)

	Frames and parts	Rubber tires	Total
1931	2,673	1,040	3,713
1933	5,860	2,348	8,208
1934	10,071	3,034	13,105
1935	10,465	3,204	13,669

Exports Fall Off

For several years until 1934 the amount of Japanese bicycle exports has doubled yearly. A set back occurred early this year, however, and according to the Japan Export Bicycle Society, exports of bicycles and parts for the first 11 months of this year amounted to Y.15,577,000, falling by Y.1,400,000 from the same period of last year when the total was Y.16,977,000. Exports for December are expected to be far smaller than the Y.1,820,000 of last year. Details follow:

	1934 (Y.1,000)	1935
January	822	1,147
February	1,071	1,300
March	1,422	1,458
April	1,551	1,655
May	1,842	1,727
June	1,912	1,434
July	1,696	1,421
August	1,721	1,334
September	1,422	1,390
October	1,777	1,496
November	1,741	1,212
December	1,820	—

Since March the exports have dropped month after month. Domestic demand has already reached a point of saturation. Japanese makers are depending on the export trade for development of the bicycle manufacturing industry, and the sinking tendency is a source of grave concern, according to the *Jiji*. The principal reason for the depression is because the Dutch East Indies are restricting the importation of Japanese bicycles. Japanese exporters, on the other hand, are trying to open a new market in China in connection with the stabilization of North China.

The Miyata Bicycle Works, Tokyo, has received orders from the Soviet Union for 1,000 bicycles. It has already started construction and will ship them to the Soviet through Vladivostok this month. The Yamaguchi Bicycle Works, Tokyo, has expanded its productive equipment to 3,000 bicycles a month.

Prosperity of Japan's Steel Industry Depends Upon Consumption of a Large Tonnage of Scrap Iron

(Continued from page 464)

for pig iron beyond that ruling in the U.S.A. As the ruling price for scrap iron is \$10 per gross ton and the price of pig iron is \$20; it does not require a technical expert to figure out the economy in the use of scrap.

Starting from the use of 4½ per cent of scrap iron to its total supply of pig iron in 1923, Japan increased the consumption of scrap to 24 per cent of the total amount of pig iron consumed by 1930. As to how this affected the cost of pig during this period, the following figures will show:

Average price of pig iron in Japan during the eight years 1924 to 1930 equalled \$24.78.

Average price of pig iron in U.S.A. during the eight years, 1924 to 1930 equalled \$20.

The average cost of total iron consumed in Japan during the eight years (1924 to 1930) equalled \$22.17 which, although \$2.16 per ton higher than the price of pig iron in the U.S.A. for the same period, still, showed a considerable saving.

And so this economy has continued and shall continue as long as the Japanese are intelligent and are allowed the free purchase

at a fair price of about 10 per cent of the available yearly scrap produced in the United States.

If, however, some of our senators and congressmen imagine that the Japanese are so smart that they can build battleships from rusty nails, iron pipe, sawed-off girders and stoves to the extent of 1,200,000 tons per year, which will destroy the American fleet for which there is available fifty million tons of steel yearly, then Japan may have to look elsewhere for her supply of scrap iron.

In such a conjuncture, however, Japan shall have attained a reputation for magic which will make all of the countries in the world bow before her metallurgical prowess.

The senators and congressmen, who have been reported by *Time* and other American papers as saying in the Senate Munitions Committee that Japan's purchase of scrap, "is helping to forge a modern Oriental fighting machine against the day when the bugles blow again," remind one of the senator who when on the committee investigating the Titanic disaster asked: "Why didn't they put the passengers in the watertight compartments?" Or another who asked, "Why didn't they launch the bulk-heads?"

Japan's Exports of Galvanized Steel Sheets

Exceeds 100,000 Tons

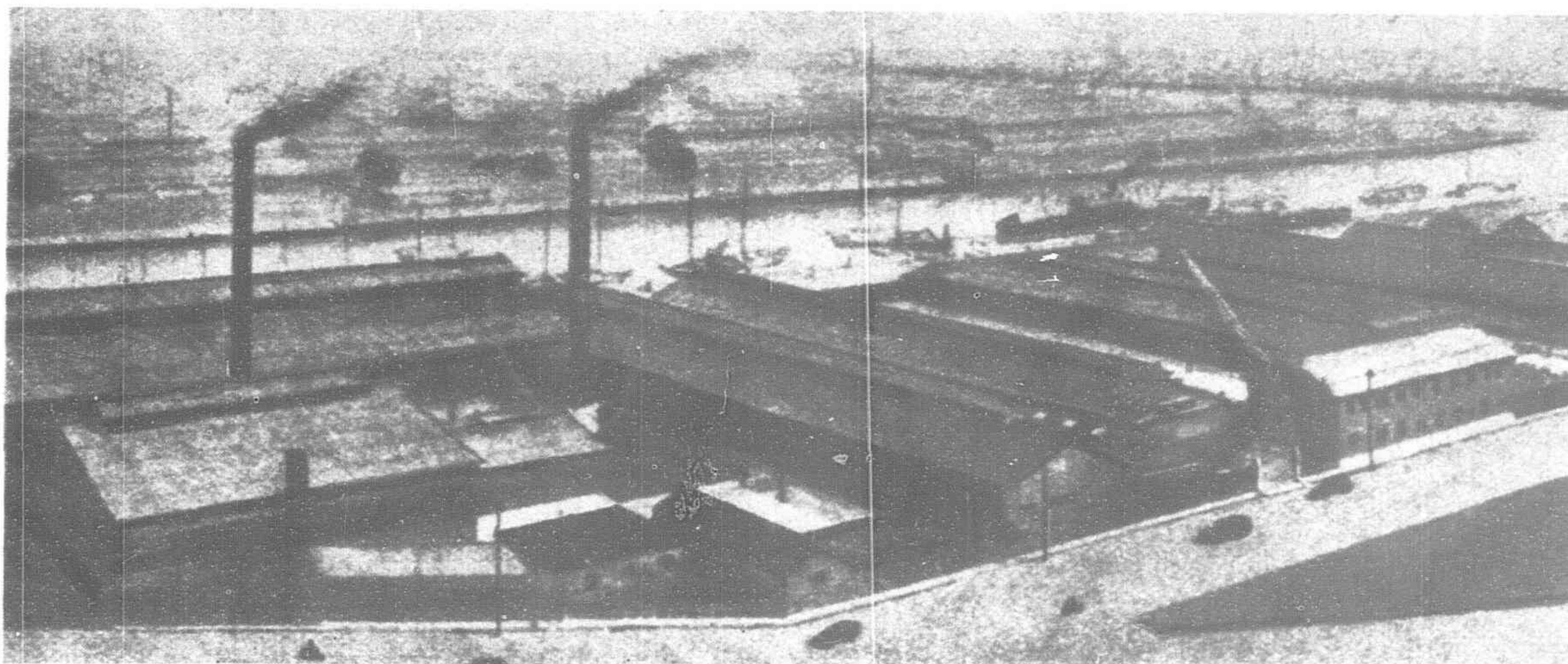
EXPORTS of galvanized sheet iron continue to increase at a remarkable rate, with prospect of the year's total quantity exceeding 100,000 metric tons. According to the investigation of the Galvanized Iron Engineering Association of Japan, the exports for the first eight months of the year have already totalled to about the whole for last year, hence the quantity to be exported during the other four months will be the net increase for the present year.

Even granting that the trade volume is maintained at the present rate for the remaining four months, the year's total will run into considerably more than 95,000 tons. But the export trade will be greatly stimulated by the completion of factory extensions and new productive facilities which are under way at present. And the year's total exports will exceed 100,000 metric tons.

The investigation reveals that the output of galvanized sheet iron, not exceeding 0.7 mm. in thickness, for the first half of the year has totalled 176,696 tons, an increase of 27,841 tons compared with that for the corresponding period of last year. The output will increase further as the Osaka Sheet Manufacturing Company has put its additional plants into operation during last July, and additional production is going to be carried out by the Tominaga Steel Engineering Company, Nakayama Steel Sheet Company and Osaka Sheet Iron Company, whose combined new capacity will amount to several thousand tons a month. And about 70 per cent of the new capacity will be set aside for export purpose. There is, therefore, no doubt that the exports will be considerably larger than 100,000 tons during the year.

EXPORTS OF GALVANIZED SHEET IRON

(In sheets)				1935	1934
January..	..	..	..	1,734,830	1,070,337
February	..	..	..	1,983,927	1,206,385
March ..	..	..	..	1,908,239	1,460,613
April ..	..	..	..	1,998,034	1,612,937



Plant of the Osaka Steel Sheet Galvanizing Company

				1935	1934
May ..	..	..	..	2,292,139	1,871,634
June ..	..	..	..	2,414,011	1,483,436
July ..	..	..	..	2,049,034	1,448,893

The manufacture and trade of the merchandise is controlled by the Galvanized Iron Engineering Association of Japan, consisting of thirteen firms of the country, which enforces technical inspection of the product not only for export purpose but also for domestic consumption. The member firms have the following number of plants :

		Total number of plants	Plants in operation
Nippon Zinking Co.	(Osaka) ..	4	3
Osaka Iron Sheet Mfg. Co.	.. ..	3	2
Nakayama Steel Sheet Co.	.. ..	3	2
Osaka Galvanized Sheet Co.	.. ..	3	2
Tominaga Steel Engineering Co.	.. ..	2	1
Maruju Zinking Co.	.. ..	1	1
Tokyo Zinking Co.	(Tokyo) ..	2	1
Tokyo Factory of the Osaka Iron Sheet Mfg. Co.	.. ..	2	1
Toyo Planting Co.	.. ..	1	1
Taisho Iron Sheet Co.	.. ..	1	1
Toho Engineering Co.	.. ..	1	1
Azuma Plating Co.	.. ..	1	1
Taihei Zinking Co.	(Fukuoka)	1	1
Total ..	.. ..	25	18

The Conflict of Ideals

(Continued from page 443)

by words ? " he asked. In the statements of Judge Moore and Dr. Bemis we hear the true voice of America.

The proof of this is found in the trade statistics and the sum of our investments which (excluding philanthropic and cultural properties) show that the British stake in China is thirteen times greater than our own. Yet all this has been written into a treaty which we become emotional over and at times seem even willing to fight for. Any clear analysis of the trade statistics, inventory of investments and study of the balance sheet, reveals that we are so deep in the red that it will require decades of profitable and preferred trading to break even.

Have we no statesmen big enough to face squarely the facts revealed by these figures and proclaim what they mean to the people of the United States ? Must we go on and on chasing a will-o'-the-wisp that is leading us to disaster because no one in authority has the courage to challenge a group of Bourbons, who have learned nothing and forgotten nothing in thirty-five years ? We paid for our trusting simplicity in 1917. Have we learned nothing from the mistakes of the past ? Are we any wiser than we were in 1917 ? If we are, we do not show it. We are drifting. And as we read the news dispatches from Washington, from London and Geneva, we tremble for the future.

American Trade With Japan

(Continued from page 463)

annual average, were valued at \$246,036,000 ; they declined to a low point of \$134,921,000 in 1932 and recovered in 1934 to reach \$210,420,000. In the first eight months of 1935 they were \$115,870,000.

" American exports to China in 1926—average annually, were \$109,021,000 ; they dropped to a low in 1933 of \$51,942,000, recovered in 1934 to \$68,632,000. In the first eight months of 1935 they were only \$26,659,000—less than one-fourth of the shipments to Japan.

" United States imports from Japan in 1926-1930, annual average, were valued at \$379,632,000. They reached a depression low in 1934 at \$119,251,000, and in the first eight months of 1935 were \$94,339,000, foreshadowing an improved total for the year.

" Imports from China in the same period averaged \$140,306,000. They reached bottom in 1932 at \$26,177,000 and recovered in 1934 to \$43,933,000.

" For the first eight months of 1935 imports from China were valued at \$41,690,000. This indicated a substantial recovery this year, as compared with last year, but the imports from China into the United States are still being made at a rate less than half of those from Japan."

TIN

The Japanese Canning Industry

THE Japanese food canning industry was first initiated in 1871 under State auspices. In that year, a group of Government officials, who had been sent on a tour of inspection through the canneries of Europe and America, started experimental work under the guidance of M. Jury, a French canning expert.

Four years later a number of industrialists, who had studied canning methods in California, returned to Japan and started to pack tomatoes and peaches, but their project failed. And even the establishment of an experimental station at Hokkaido did not stimulate others to enter the industry.

The foundations upon which the modern Japanese industry was based were two wars. In 1894, when the Sino-Japanese war was declared, the Japanese Army Council decided that canned foods should form a part of the soldier's diet. Within a year, production reached a level of some 150,000 cases. But, as has been the experience in other countries, more canneries were put into operation than could be borne by the market. Consequently, a period of acute depression, owing to over-production, was experienced.

It was not until the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 that the industry regained a balance. Then the military authorities adopted a policy of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, and encouraged canning by making tremendous purchases. Not only

did existing lines of canning flourish, but new lines, such as flavoured sardines, striped tuna, mackerel, yellow-tail and salmon, were developed. Since that time the industry progressed steadily, until the past few years, when the growth became remarkable.

The following figures best illustrate recent growth, so far as fish output is concerned :—

Year	Canned sardine	Canned salmon	Canned crab	Canned tuna
1929..	38,307	1,442,569	538,512	3,185
1930..	37,053	1,621,929	574,938	14,000
1931..	44,818	1,169,600	439,462	28,307
1932..	257,259	1,413,844	306,707	264,941
1933..	400,000	1,443,968	—	—

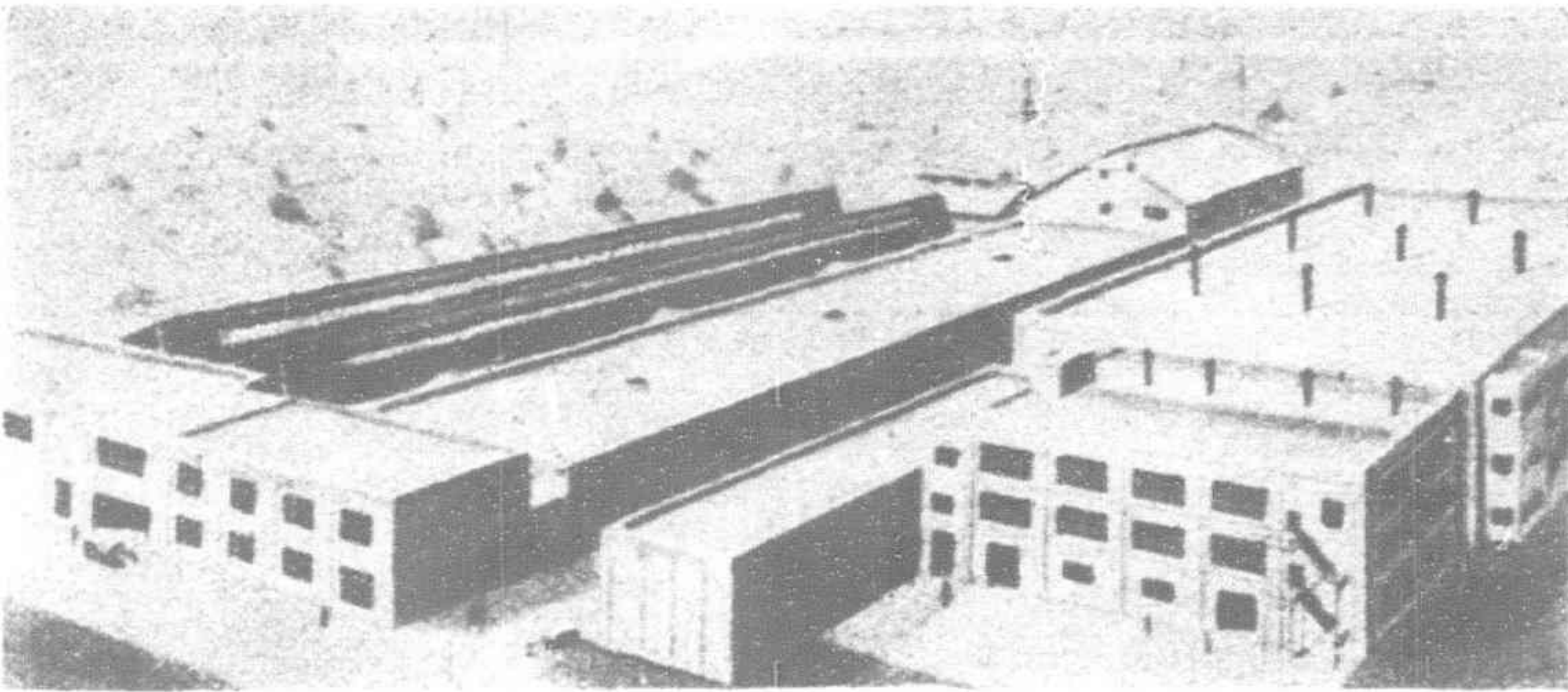
(in cases)

CANNING PACK (AVERAGE 1929-31)

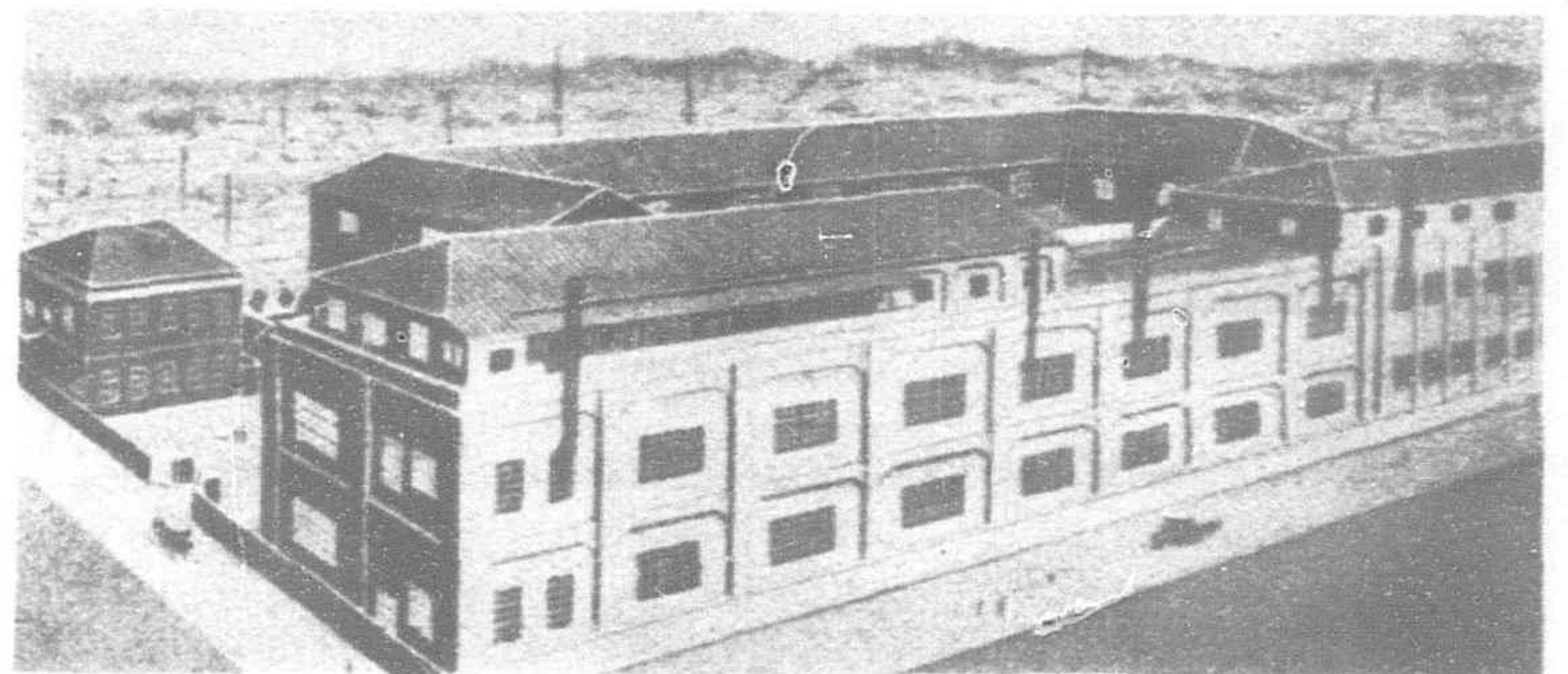
	No. of Cases
Marine Products	2,442,754
Fruit	704,783
Vegetables	550,300
Meats	614,867
Total	4,312,704

Sea products are not the only section of the Japanese canning industry that demands attention. The food packs include pine-

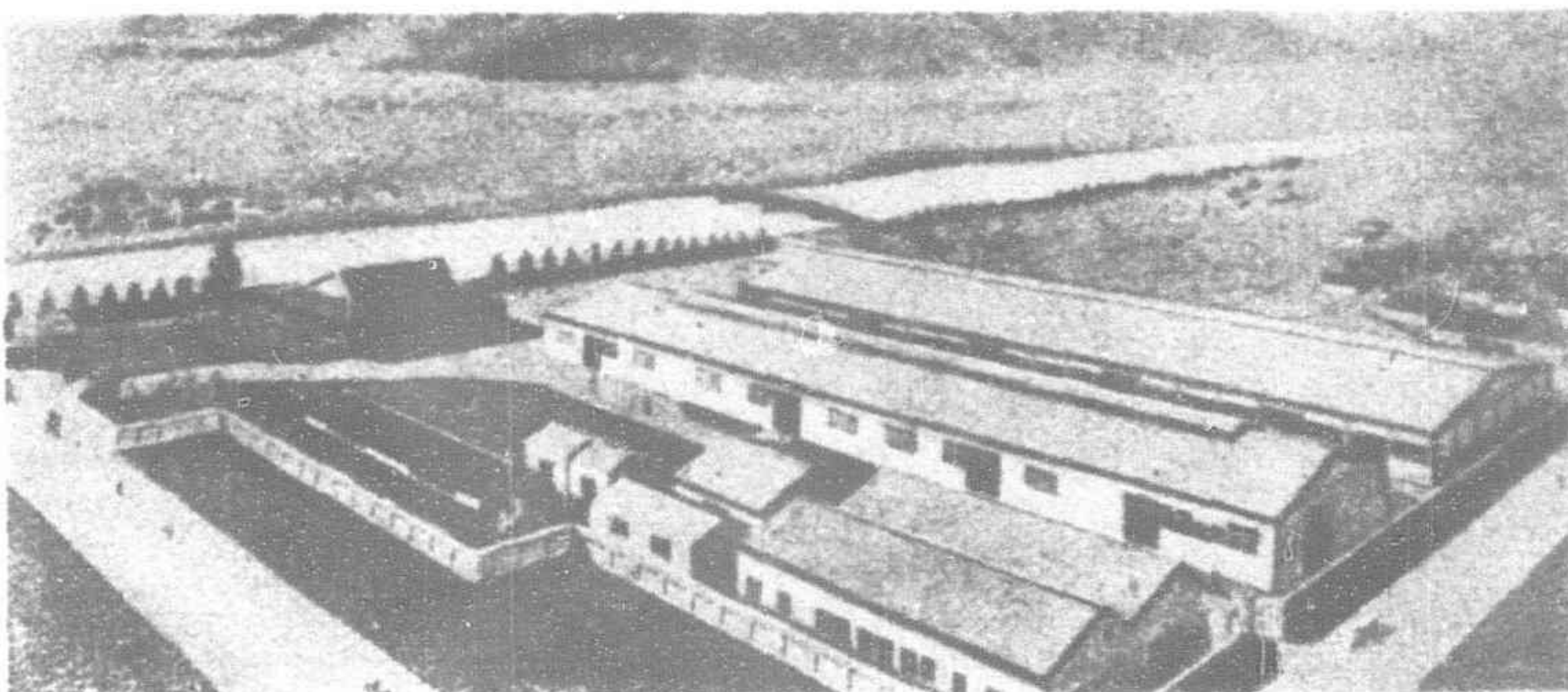
The Can Factories of the Toyo Seikan Kaisha, Ltd., the Largest Manufacturers of Cans in Japan



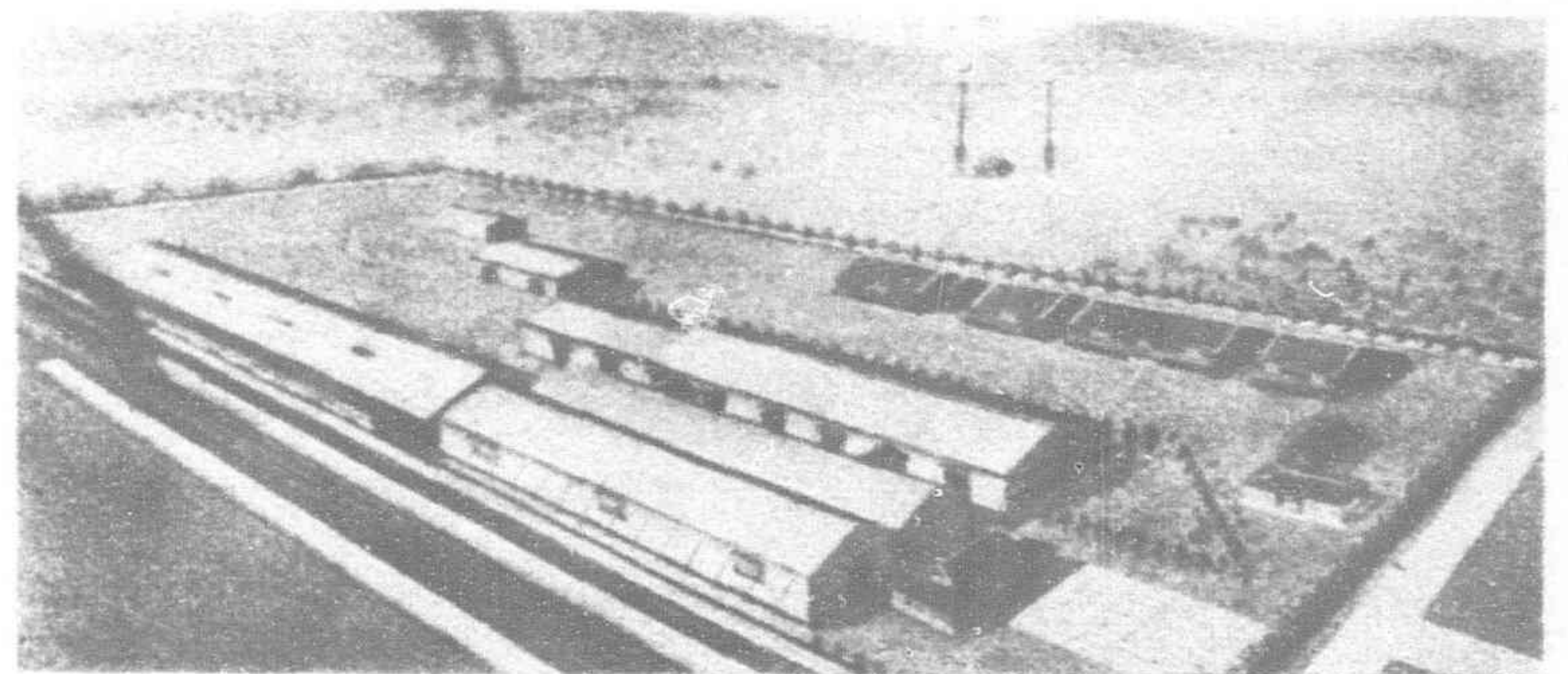
Osaka Plant



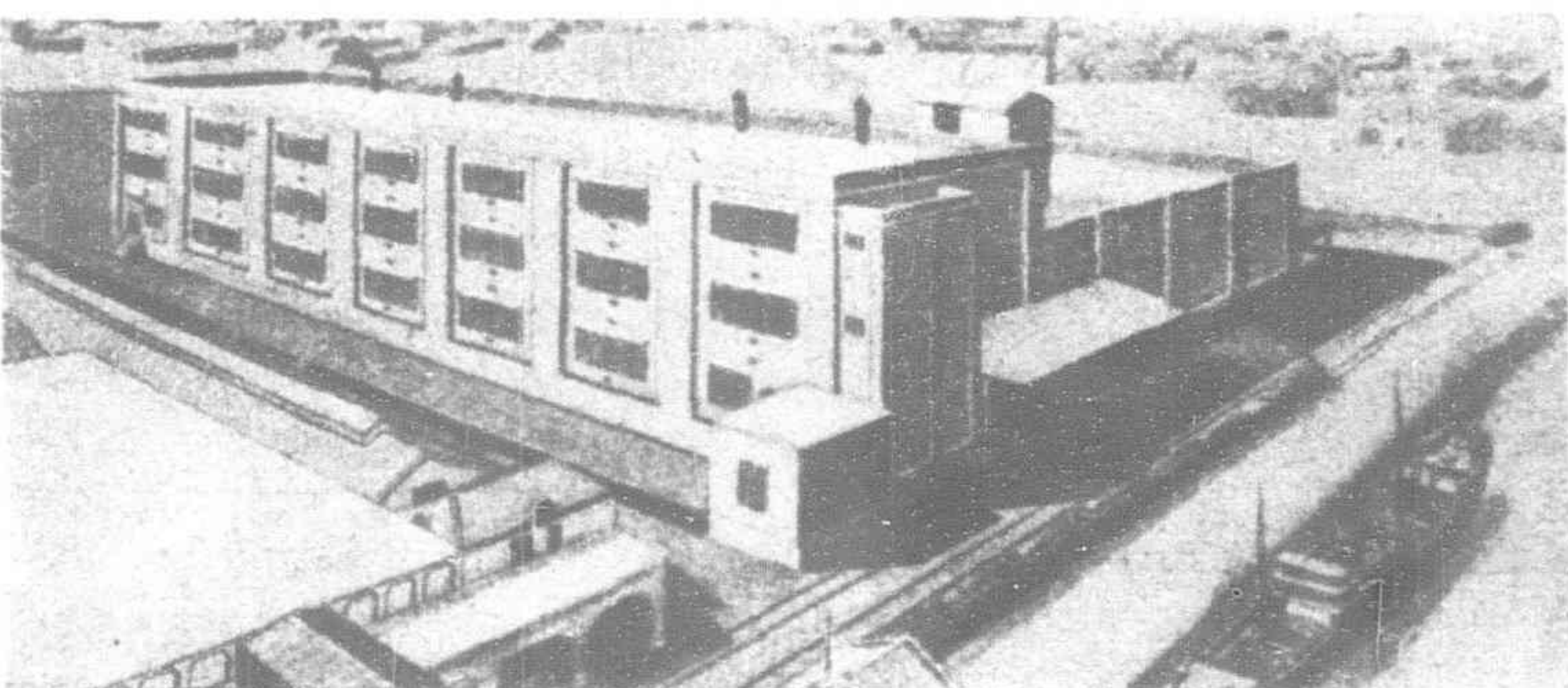
Tokyo Plant



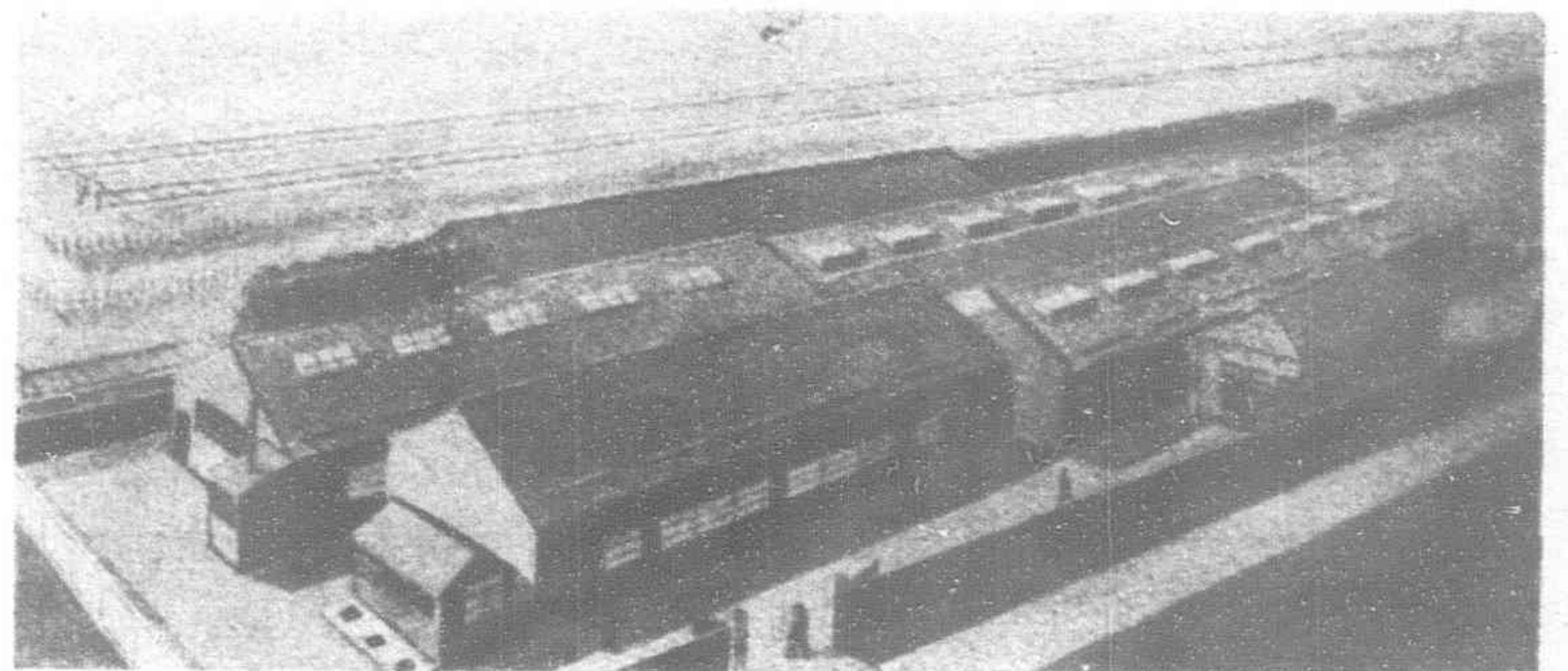
Hiroshima Plant



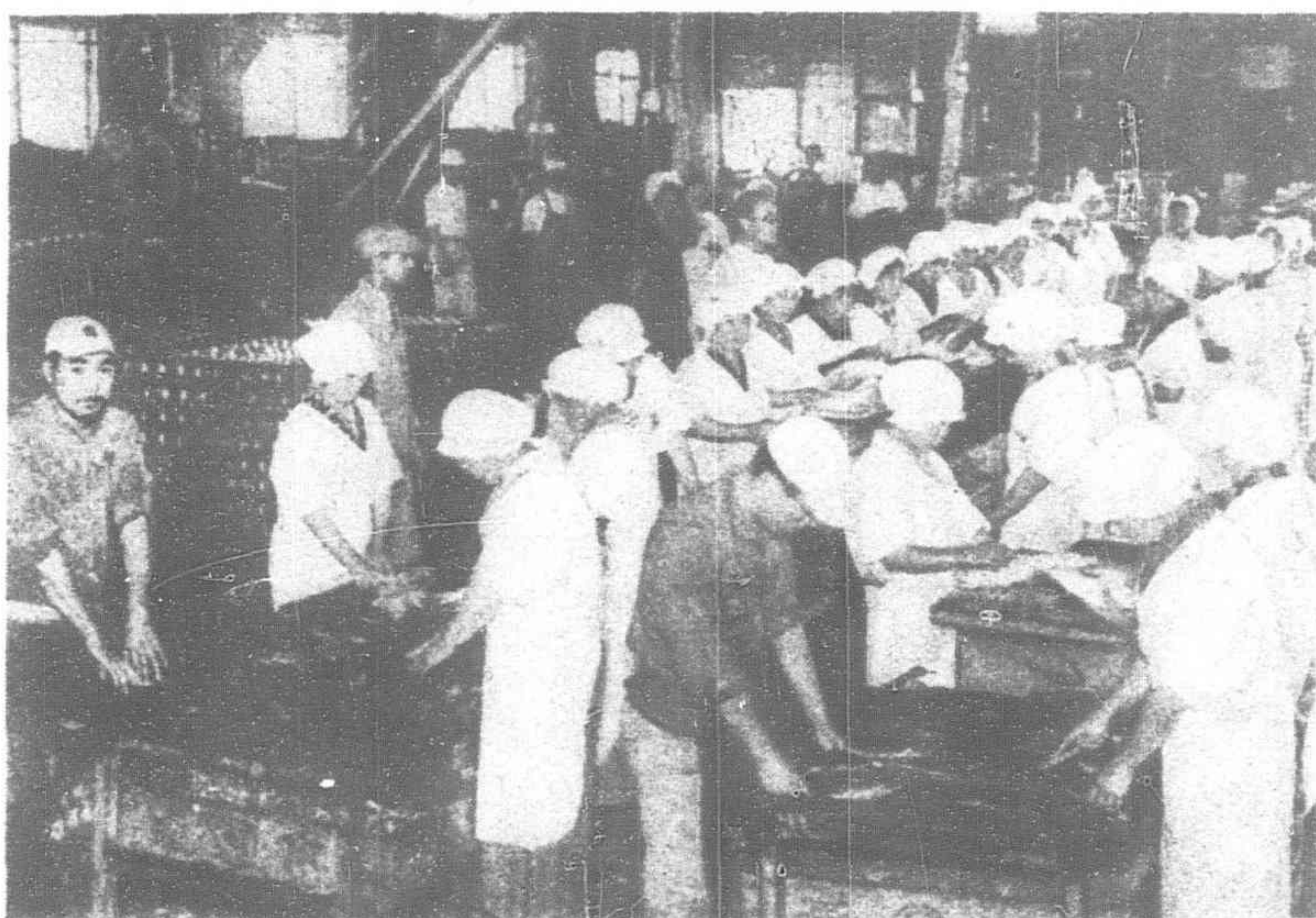
Takao Plant



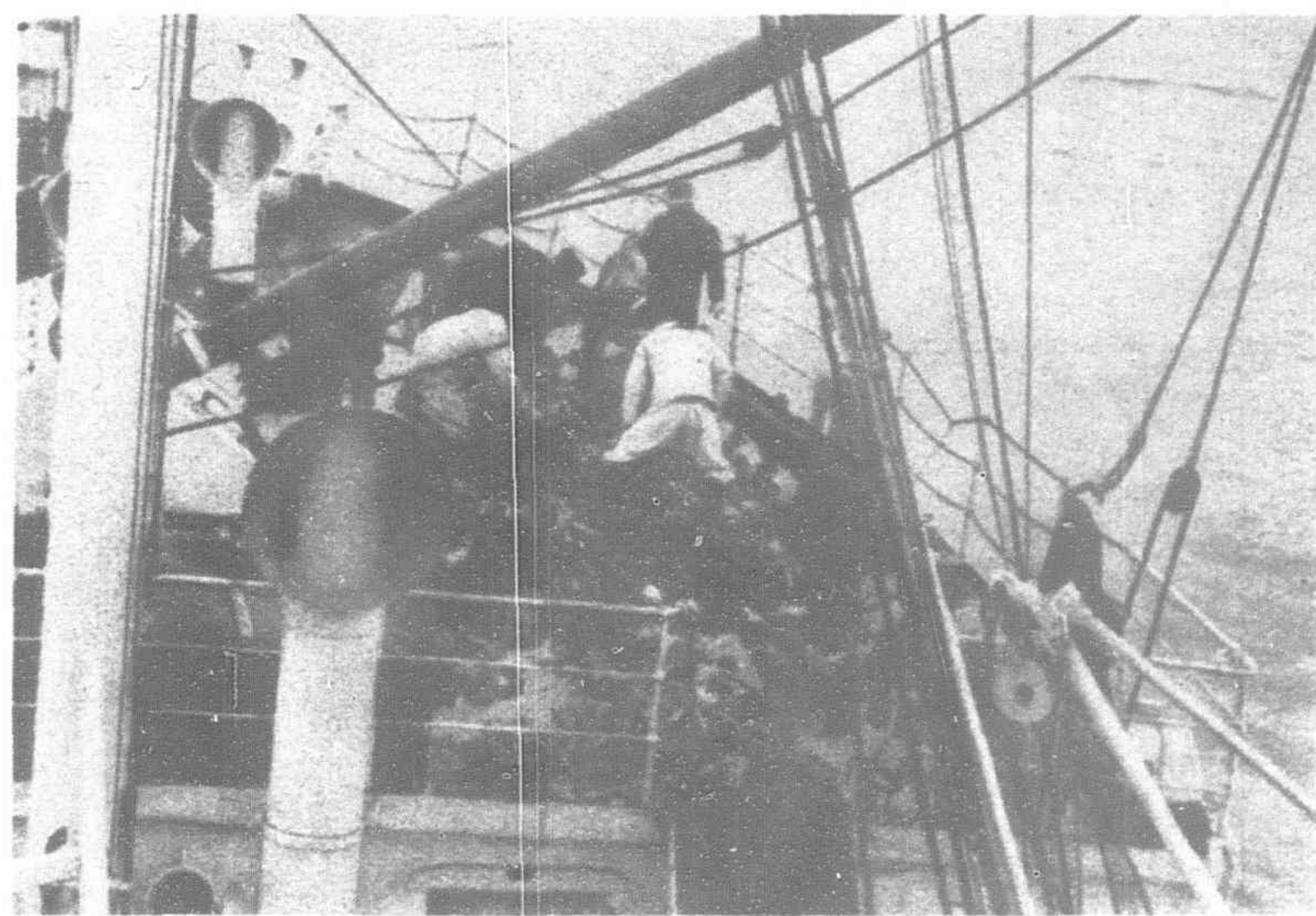
Tobata Plant



Aomori Plant



A Fish Cannery in Miyagi Prefecture



A Crab Canning Boat Out from Hokkaido

apples, oranges (developing with tremendous rapidity during 1934), asparagus, peaches, pears, cherries, bamboo shoots, peas, string-beans, beef, pork and chicken.

The annual export of canned sea products is valued at Y.40,000,000 (£4,000,000 at par) (based on 1931 figures, which have since been exceeded). These exports constitute 74 per cent of the total production, and represent an increase of 260 per cent compared with the 1924 figures. A large part of this gain is attributed to the growing demand for canned salmon and crab.

The export of canned salmon represents 60 per cent of the total sea products. Canned crab comes next, claiming 36 per cent. Exports of canned sardines in oil and canned tuna have recorded amazing expansion in recent years. . . . In 1932 exports of canned tuna aggregated over Y.2,800,000 (£280,000 at par), and those of canned sardines in oil, Y.1,000,000 (£100,000 at par).*

The following figures† indicate the destinations of canned salmon in 1930 :—

Country	No. of Cases
Great Britain	1,078,645
France	176,011
Holland	11,901
Belgium	11,729
Australia	7,153
Africa	10,698
Italy	4,153
Others	14,653

The growth and maintenance of the overseas markets are largely attributable to constant Government inspection, to the legal obligation of grading in quality and quantity in the can, and also to the efforts of the Canned Foods Association of Japan (Nippon Kanzume Kyokai). This body, which consists of a fusion between the Federation of Packers' Associations and the Canning Promotion Association, was started in 1927, and amongst its activities are the following :

Conducting examinations of canned food on the market from time to time without notice to producers, for the purpose of preventing the marketing of undesirable packs.

Organising lectures throughout Japan, with a view to stimulating home canned food consumption.

Providing technical and marketing information for canners. Extending and stimulating overseas markets.

Exploring the potentialities of new fields for canning. (The Association is now engaged in extending the packing industry to agricultural and dairy products, hitherto untouched in Japan).

Organising lecture courses for the training of canning experts.

The Floating Canneries

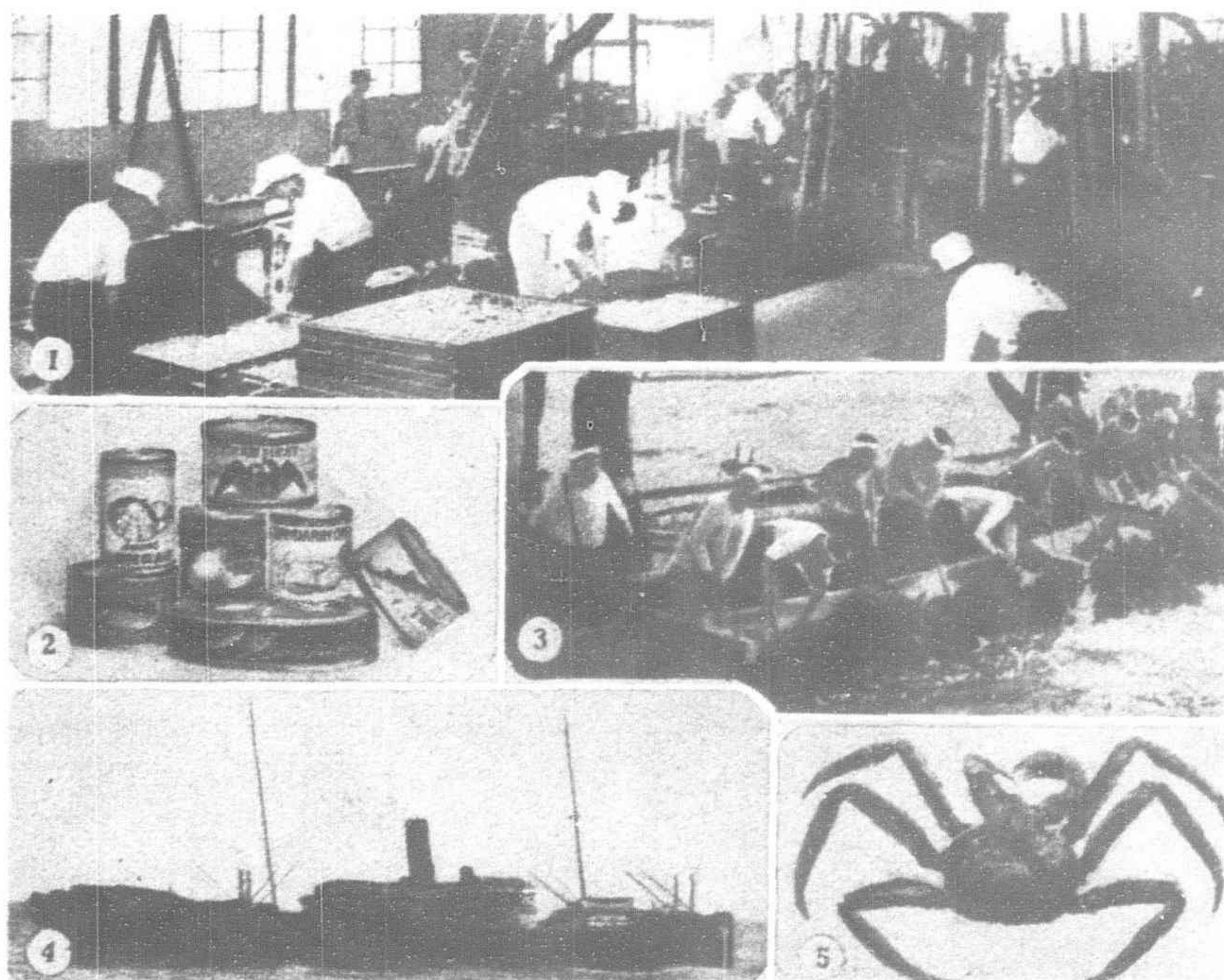
Japan's most interesting contribution to the canning industry has been the creation of a series of floating canning factories, which involve the installation of a complete canning plant on board a ship, so that sea products can be packed immediately after they have been collected. Apart from setting a new standard of freshness, these "floating factories" have the added advantage of being able to travel from point to point where supplies are most plentiful. While so travelling the fishermen on board become canners. A large increase in production has been effected by these means.

The floating canning industry was started in 1916 on an experimental basis. So encouraging were the results that commercial floating canneries were sent out in 1920. Sailing ships were employed in the early days but these have now been replaced by modern steam or oil-driven vessels.

The floating cannery of to-day consists of a mother ship, which is equipped with all facilities for processing and packing, and a fleet of fishing boats. The canning equipment is usually carried in between the decks of the mother ship. Some ten to fifteen fishing boats work in conjunction with each mother ship. The majority of these are a nine-foot wide by 45-foot long native craft (*Kawasaki-Bune*) equipped with semi-Diesel engines of about 10 horse power, while the remainder are 20 horse power semi-Diesel craft which are employed principally as tug boats.

Japanese canning already holds an important position in the world industry and there is every indication that its development is proceeding on healthy and progressive lines.

*† Source, *Marine Foods Canning Industry of Japan*, issued by the Canned Foods Association of Japan (Nippon Kanzume Kyokai).



1—Interior of a Tuna Cannery. 2—Canned Marine Products and Fruit. 3—Fishermen Ready for a Big Haul. 4—A Floating Cannery. 5—Delicious Taraba-Gani.

Food Canning

The Japanese food canning industry continues to expand with a remarkable vigour. Apart from the progress that is being made with the established lines, new lines are being constantly introduced. One such line—tinned oranges—reached an export total of 350,000 cases of 4 dozen 1 lb. cans in 1933. The growing of asparagus for canning has been placed on a commercial basis; sardines are being canned with tomato sauce; while canned butter is already supplying 80 per cent of the domestic demand for butter packed in this form.

Exact production figures are difficult to obtain, but the following Customs returns for exports from Japan Proper for canned and bottled foods indicate recent growth:—

Year	Piculs of 132 lb.	Value in yen
1932	568,759	22,774,000
1933	986,646	46,984,000
1934	1,104,678	50,304,000

These figures, it is pointed out, do not include all the exports of the food packing industry. Exports of condensed milk, for example, are entered under a separate heading, and are given as follows:—

Year	Piculs of 132 lb.	Value in yen
1932	18,050	429,812
1933	22,674	743,455
1934	58,061	1,537,882

Further omissions from the figures relate to the large and valuable quantities of tinned salmon shipped abroad direct from the Japanese fisheries off Kamchatka and Siberia. Tinned crab is also shipped direct from the fisheries. Direct shipments from the fisheries to the United Kingdom alone are given at an f.o.b. value of Y.18,456,000 in 1932; Y.14,005,497 in 1933; and Y.21,000,000 in 1934.

The products of the Japanese canning industry include milk, meat, salmon, crab, sardines, tuna, shell-fish, vegetables, fruits and flavourings. The best known in export markets are salmon and crab, while canned oranges are becoming increasingly popular in Great Britain.

Canning Prospects

The canning industry in China is in its infancy. The canning of surplus fruits, fish, ginger, and meat has been very little developed, and, such as there is, is confined to the coast and river ports. There appears to be no possibility of much expansion of this business until the Chinese become more educated in the use of tinplates. If well developed, however, the canning industry would help to allay the famines which are epidemic in China.

Market for Tin

As a tin-producing country which is making increased demands for supplies from outside sources, Japan represents an important factor when considering future world needs for the metal.

That increased industrial activity has been a very real thing is indicated in the following statistics prepared by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Bureau:—

INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(1930 = 100)

	1931	1932	1933	1934
	Average	Average	Jan-Sept. average	Jan-Sept. average
General Index	102.43	107.89	121.90	133.26
Manufactures	104.54	111.14	126.14	137.59
Minerals	91.44	90.92	99.78	110.67
Producers' Goods	102.60	107.55	122.32	140.52
Consumers' Goods	102.08	109.28	121.58	124.99
Textiles	106.05	112.90	123.79	140.97
Chemicals	108.26	118.92	138.37	148.52
Pig Iron	85.00	93.10	117.44	141.30
Steel Products	84.70	108.50	132.20	166.79

Tin consumption, it can safely be assumed, is involved in all these branches of industrial activity, and will be increased as development continues. Of special significance, however, is the development of a range of new industries, a number of which create a big tin demand. Amongst those are motor vehicles, internal combustion engines and precision machinery and instru-

ments, such as scientific and industrial measuring and recording instruments, clocks, watches and optical instruments, cameras, light machine tools and gauges.

Perhaps the most remarkable progress has been made by the electrical industry. Over 80 per cent of the population, it is claimed, already use electricity in the home. Consumption per head of the population is low—approximately 155 kilowatt hours a year—but a knowledge of the uses of electricity, and the fact that installation has been made suggests a tremendous scope for the sale of appliances, all of which require tin in their production. The use of power is rapidly increasing in industry, particularly in the manufacture of rayon and chemicals.

A good indication of the growth of power production is shown in the following figures. They represent the maximum of supply for power and traction, and do not include power generated and consumed by private enterprises for their own purposes:—

End of	Kilowatts
1922	950,000
1932	3,078,000

The total capacity of power generating plants at the beginning of 1934 is given as follows:—

	Kilowatts
Water Power	3,105,930
Thermal	1,827,131
Total	4,933,061

Iron and Steel

Activity in the iron and steel industries is usually taken as being indicative of general industrial activity, and in this direction the position in Japan is highly encouraging. "Japanese manufacturers have as yet not been able to cope with the still increasing demand for iron and steel products." Not only has home production increased but imports have been on the upgrade, as is indicated by the following statistics:—

IRON AND STEEL IMPORTS
(Metric tons)

	1931	1932	1933	1934
Raw Materials:				
Iron Ore	1,549,919	1,482,406	1,523,626	2,131,916
Scrap	295,579	599,080	1,012,691	1,412,988
Pig Iron	399,448	444,424	640,851	614,398
Semi-finished Products	27,240	25,546	104,786	87,923
Finished Products	258,435	225,520	398,987	369,584

Home production has shown equally important increases. This is shown in the following figures for 1934. Statistics issued, it should be noted, were prepared only up to October, 1934, but in order to make comparisons possible with other years on a minimum basis, the October figure has been trebled by the compilers of the table, which is:—

JAPANESE IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION
(Metric tons)

	1931	1932	1933	1934
Pig Iron (Japan Korea and Manchuria)	1,408,201	1,522,322	2,031,549	2,404,495
Steel Ingots	1,864,130	2,292,044	3,047,416	3,695,311
Billets for Sale	54,534	71,689	92,497	87,931
Sheet Bars for Sale	107,751	135,578	119,471	139,399
Finished Steel Products	1,519,919	1,930,898	2,456,169	3,043,007

Tinplate Activity

Of particular interest is the rapid growth of the tinplate industry. Up to the present, the total annual consumption of tinplate has been approximately 138,000 metric tons, of which two-thirds have been imported. Conservative estimates indicate that home production should amount to 127,000 tons by 1936, or, if all the equipment now being installed is working to full capacity, to 156,000 tons a year.

There is every reason to anticipate that consumption will exceed this higher level. The food-canning industry is expanding, and the use of motor spirit and lubricating oils is growing with the development of motor transport and aviation, both for civil and military purposes.

Production of tinplate in Japan has until recently been confined to the Government Steel Works at Yawata, where output

in December, 1934, reached a level of 6,000 tons a month; extensions in progress should shortly increase this to between 7,000 and 8,000 tons a month. A new tinplate company, the Fuso Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha, has a capacity which is understood to be at least 1,000 tons a month; while yet another enterprise, the Toyo Kohan Kabushiki Kaisha, a subsidiary of the Far East Can Manufacturing Company, is now being equipped to give an output of about 4,000 tons a month.

Shipbuilding and Engineering

The Japanese Government's "scrap-and-build" plan to stimulate the shipbuilding industry, which was put into operation in October, 1932, has succeeded beyond expectations. By June, 1934, some 94 vessels of a tonnage of 399,000 had been scrapped and 31 new vessels (gross tonnage 199,000 tons) had been ordered. The following figures show the number and type of new vessels added to the mercantile fleet in 1933 and 1934:—

Type	No.	Gross tonnage
Diesel Engined Cargo Vessels	17	117,500
Diesel Engined Oil Tankers	2	20,100
Turbine Engined Passenger and Cargo Vessels	2	12,650
Diesel Engined Passenger Vessels	1	1,848

Present and future prospects are also bright. At the end of 1934, the following vessels of 4,000 gross tons or over were under construction:—

Type	No.	Gross tonnage
Diesel Engined Cargo Vessels	8	49,000
Diesel Engined Oil Tankers	1	10,000
Turbine Engined Passenger and Cargo Vessels	7	35,600

There is also considerable activity in the construction of locomotives and rolling stock for the railways. According to the Economic Research Bureau of the Mitsubishi Company, the following were produced, or were in the course of construction during 1933-34: Steam locomotives, 76; electric locomotives, 2; gasoline locomotives, 73; Diesel locomotives, 2; passenger cars, including mail and luggage vans, 152; electric cars, 126; freight cars, 730; and cable cars, 2.

Automobile Production

In the production of automobiles an average of 6 lb. of tin is required in the construction and maintenance of each unit. It has long been a part of Japanese policy to develop a domestic automobile industry, as distinct from the branches of foreign companies, such as Ford and General Motors. Vehicles produced by these branch companies are given as follows:—

Year	No. of vehicles
1931	18,908
1932	13,327
1933	15,600 (approx.)

Coinciding with this decline has been a considerable increase in domestic production. The total number produced in 1932 was 840 units, which figure rose to 1,500 units in 1933. In 1934 an all-Japanese company, the Nissan Automobile Company, was formed for the manufacture of automobile parts and for the production in large numbers of the Datsun car. It is understood that between 250 and 300 Datsun cars were produced in 1934, and that the present production capacity of the factories is about 100 units a month, but it is hoped soon to increase this production to 200 units a month.

The potential demand for automobiles in the Far East is tremendous. Though it may not make itself felt for some good time—owing to the low purchasing power now prevailing and the lack of adequate roads—it represents a big field for the future; and Japanese sales efforts, already started, should serve to stimulate the market.

The Silk Industry

Amongst Japan's tin-consuming industries must be included silk production, which until recently provided her biggest export. Raw silk contains about 25 per cent of natural gum, which has to be removed before fabrication and which would represent a big loss if no compensation could be found. For many centuries, however, silk has been weighted, or loaded, with tin in the form

of stannic chloride. This treatment actually improves the wear and appearance of silk, provided it is not carried to excess; it also represents a valuable source of tin demand.

The Japanese silk industry, however, has not fared so well as other industries, exports falling steadily from a value of 912,500,000 yen in 1925 to Y.293,600,000 in 1934. This decline is largely due to the growing popularity of artificial silk and, in very recent years, to the fall in purchasing power of the United States, America being the biggest customer.

From the viewpoint of world tin-consumption, however, this falling-off in activity is not very serious, for tin is employed in the weighting of silk, and the combined sales of real and artificial silk are climbing rapidly.

Miscellaneous

There are a number of other Japanese tin-consuming industries, details of which are not available. The toy and fancy goods trades, for example, have advanced very considerably of late, this being due partly to overseas importers placing orders with Japan instead of Germany. The exports of toys alone have increased in value from 15 million yen in 1932 to 26 million yen in 1933 and 30 million yen in 1934. A wireless receiver industry is also making gains, protected, as it is, by a 40 per cent *ad valorem* tariff; while the gramophone industry not only supplies the home market, but showed exports valued at 3,263,000 yen in 1934.

There are, of course, a number of difficulties facing Japanese industry, particularly the tariff walls that are set against her in most countries, but, nevertheless, a steady increase in tin demand can be anticipated, provided her trade policy continues to be directed effectively, as it is now, to meet all changes.

In spite of continued adverse circumstances, China is steadily advancing along the road of economic development. Her recuperative powers are extraordinary. In spite of higher and higher tariff walls—so high as to be considered prohibitive—in spite of the most extensive system of smuggling in the world, the country's Customs receipts during the first ten months of 1934 were very little below those of 1933.

The industrial activity of Japan, coupled with the need in that latter country for new markets for her goods, bringing with it aggressive salesmanship, have made thousands of Chinese familiar with goods which a few years ago were considered only suitable for the Occidental markets. The Chinese have realised that these new tastes of their countrymen have come to stay, and they have not been slow to see that as far as possible they shall be satisfied from within. Factory development in China is proceeding rapidly and as a result her imports are gradually being transformed.

Formerly importers of cigarettes were very successful in China: but to-day China herself exports a relatively large quantity of cigarettes. In 1928 the value of these exports reached £3,000,000. To-day China is canning for herself quite considerable quantities of meats, fruits and pickles. She is making her own biscuits, soap, scent, shoes, spectacles and toys; she is manufacturing electric fans and metal filament lamps.

Market Reviewed

The market for tinplate in China, is supplied entirely from foreign sources. Recently there has been rumoured a project for the establishment of tinplate factories in Shanghai and Hongkong, but no definite information has become available. The two largest suppliers at the present time are Great Britain and the United States. The relative shares of the trade secured by these two countries have fluctuated enormously during the last few years. British imports gained a big stimulus in 1932 and 1933 by the abandonment of the gold standard, while the United States, by the adjustment in her currency, regained her former leading position in 1934. The following table shows British and American imports and totals in piculs since 1929:—

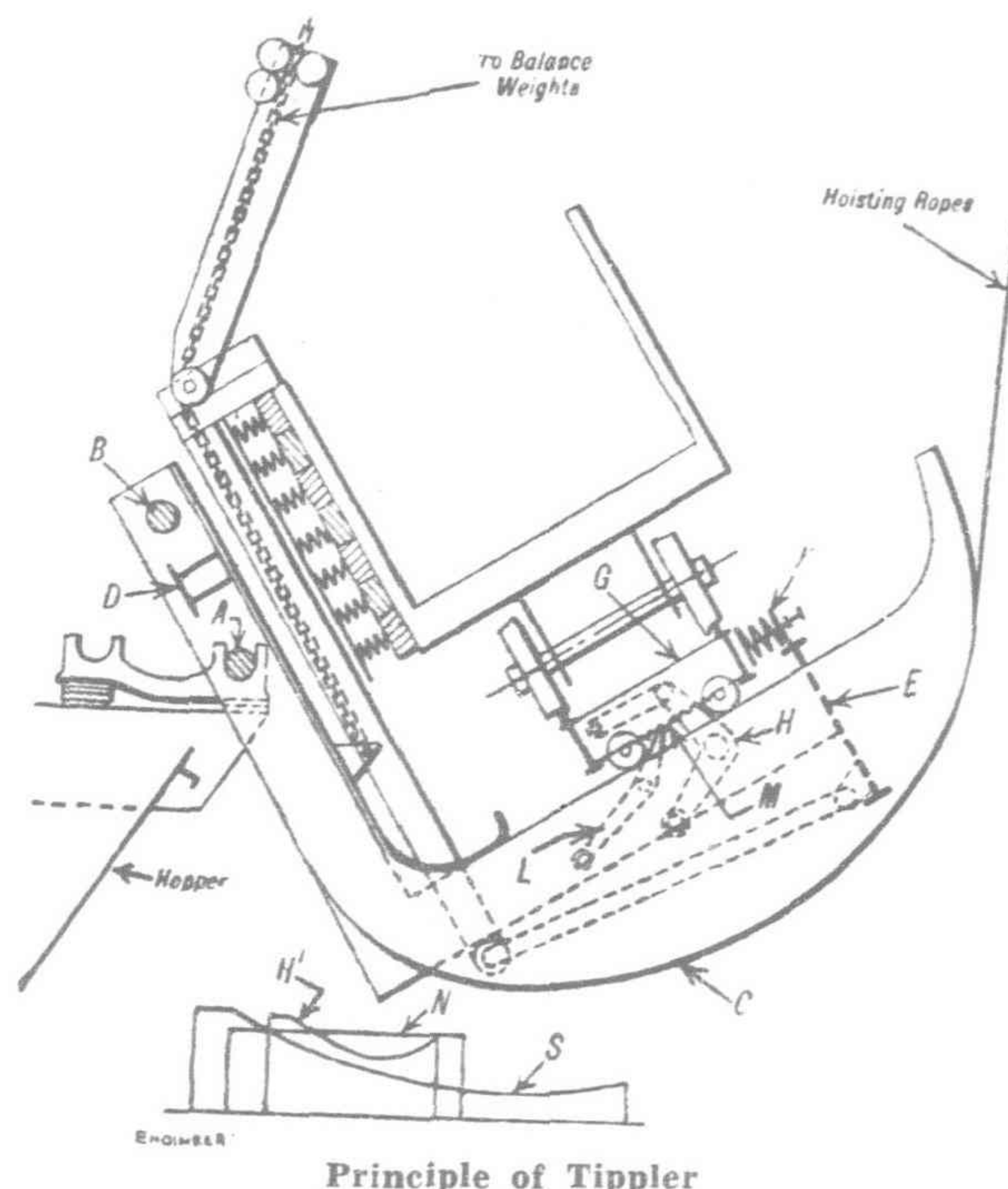
IMPORTS OF TINPLATE (Central and North China)						
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Great Britain ..	281,927	284,644	236,701	447,298	484,992	136,192
U.S.A. ..	453,484	399,103	375,824	157,858	304,929	399,519
Total ..	887,818	797,150	755,281	638,662	840,292*	610,627

* This figure was due to abnormally heavy imports by the Asiatic Petroleum Company.

(Continued on page 478)

A Large Wagon Tippler for China*

A PARTY of engineers recently visited the Fraser and Chalmers works of the G.E.C. at Erith, Kent, for the purpose of inspecting a large Marshall wagon tippler built for China. It is for use on the Lunghai Railway and is designed to handle wagons having a maximum capacity of some 40 tons, or a gross weight of 60 tons, the wagon itself weighing about 18 tons. Trucks of 40 tons capacity can be handled at the rate of ten per hour or, as will be the more usual case, 20 ton trucks at the rate of twenty per hour, although, if required, 40 ton trucks can readily be tipped at the latter rate, thus giving a total capacity of 800 tons per hour. Measured over the body, the 20 ton trucks are 29-ft. 6-in. long and have a tare weight of 10 tons, while the length of the 40 ton trucks is 42-ft. 8-in. and the tare approximately 18 tons. The machine is designed to tip one or two 10 ton trucks



at the same time and is operated by a 75 h.p. D.C. motor.

Views of the complete machine as erected at the Erith works are given above, while the annexed drawing explains the general principle. The main tippler frame consists of a pair of curved lifting arms, each having a pair of hoisting ropes. These curved arms are connected by a back girder D and a front girder E with stiffening cross members and bracing. Each lifting frame has two pins A and B and in the first place the frame rotates about the pin A which carries the wagon well over the receiving hopper. The final rotation takes place about the pin B, and this double point of rotation reduces the fall and breakage of coal in the process of discharging. The wagon cradle G is mounted on eight rollers to run on the cross beams and is positioned and its speed of side travel is governed by a

(Continued on page 478)

*The Engineer



Trucks on the Tippler before Tipping Commences



Showing position of Trucks at extreme point of Tipping

The Civil Aerodrome at Singapore*

Ruston-Bucyrus Electric Shovels Employed for Excavation Work in Reclamation of Site

IN 1930 those in High Places at Singapore decided that a civil aerodrome was a necessity, and next year the work was begun. The site chosen is unusual in that both land-planes and seaplanes can use it, although it is within two miles of the center of the city.

The site, which covers 340 acres, lies within a shallow tidal basin and is sheltered from the sea by a narrow spit of land. It will need seven million tons of filling to reclaim it from the sea.

This filling, which is dug and loaded into trains by electric excavators at a point some five miles from the aerodrome, is being transported by rail to the site over a double-track railway of three foot gauge.

When reclaimed, the area will give ample space for a circular domed landing ground 1,000 yards in diameter, with a cross fall of one in 200 caused by the doming, with enough room for terminal buildings, hangars, workshops and other ancillary buildings which are needed for the control and regulation of a modern airport. Also, an outer protected zone encircling the aerodrome will remain free from all trees, buildings and other obstructions to flying.

The lay-out of the aerodrome, which has been influenced by a recent tour of inspection by the Deputy-Director of Public Works, Straits Settlements, is shown in the accompanying picture. The complete scheme envisages four hangars each 300-ft. by 150-ft. by 35-ft. clear entrance height for landplanes, and one hangar at the slipway head for seaplanes, together with the usual display offices, workshops and other buildings shown in the general plan of the lay-out.

The aprons, the taxi-strips and other paved areas will provide plenty of space for the manœuvring of all aircraft between the landing ground and the hangars. All incoming machines will, on landing, be required to use the peripheral taxi-strip seen in the photograph, and only outward traffic will be allowed to use the apron-head.

This will reduce by half the traffic in this vicinity, and thereby will cause a corresponding reduction in the wear and tear on the

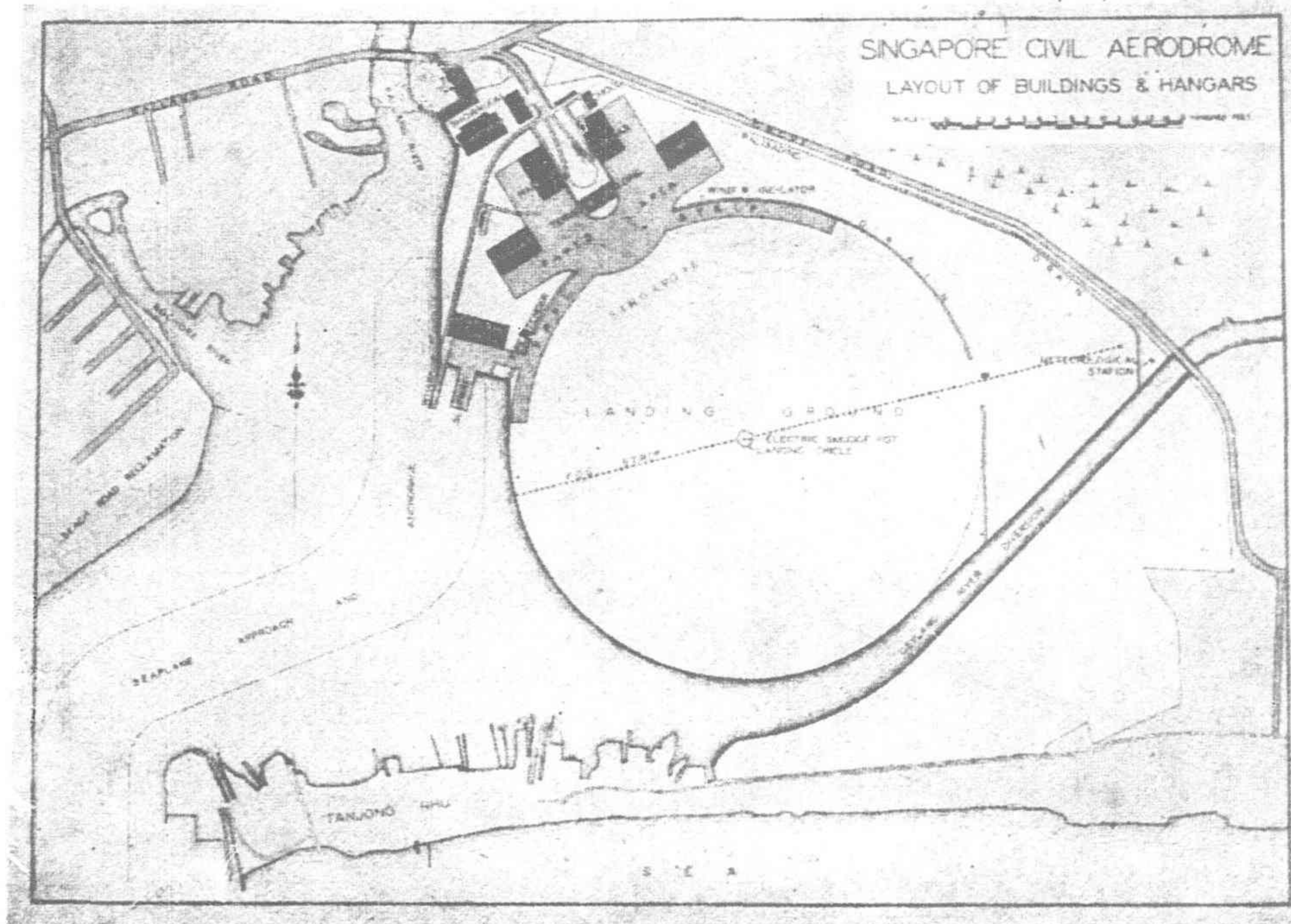
grassed surface in this neighborhood. — The maintenance of these still demands an ever-increasing amount of attention, especially in countries where rainfall is very high.

Other features will include a neon beacon, perimeter floodlights, boundary-lights, a fog-strip 1,300 yards in length following the major axis of the aerodrome, an electrically heated smudge-pot within the landing circle fitted with remote control, and full arrangements for night operations, including wireless services.

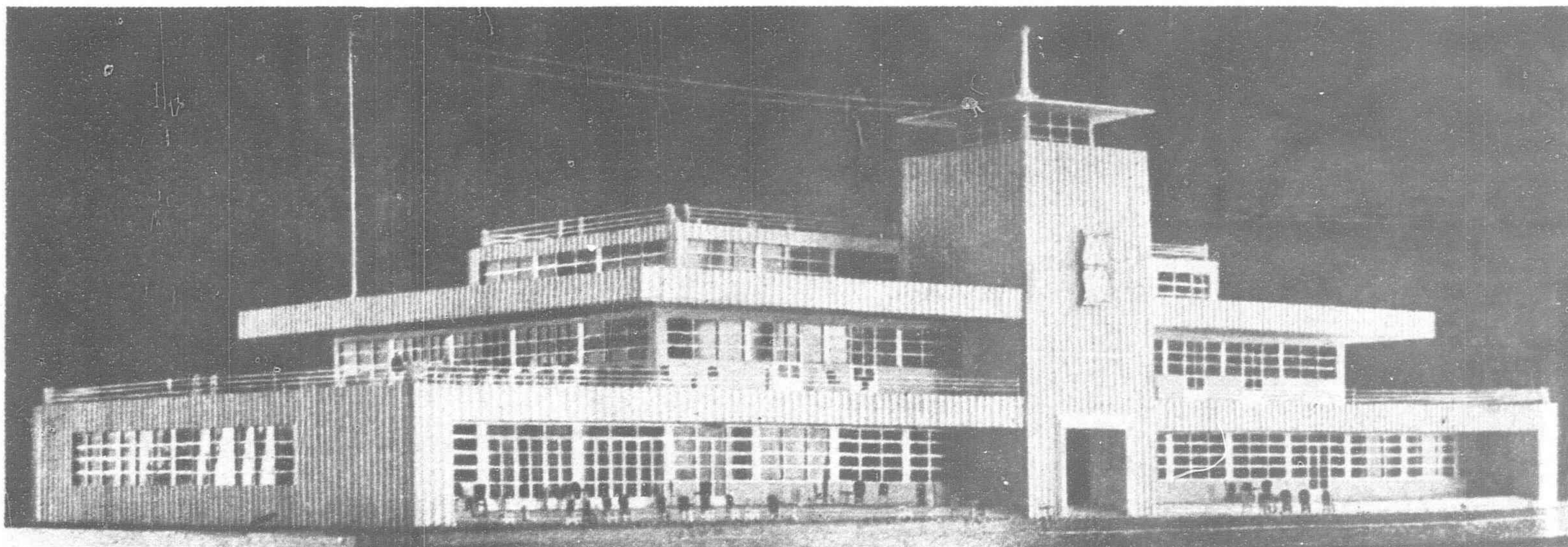
For seaplanes there will be a sheltered anchorage with a reinforced concrete slipway, 100 feet wide, equipped

with the necessary travelling platform operated by electric winding-gear capable of hauling flying-boats of heavy type into the seaplane hangar.

The design of the terminal building, which is illustrated in the accompanying photograph of a drawing, accords with the latest practice for the quick and convenient handling of passengers, baggage and mails, and freight. Separate entrances and exits are



*The Aeroplane



Showing how terminal building at the Singapore Aerodrome will look when completed, pictured from a scale model built to the design of Mr. F. Dorrington Ward, F.R.I.B.A., Government Architect of the Straits Settlements

provided for each, to speed up passage through the Customs and compliance with regulations which concern immigration and health.

A striking feature of the building is a lofty central hall, off which are provided offices for companies operating aerial services, together with postal facilities and the usual meteorological information of interest to passengers. Leading from the hall there is at one end a restaurant, and other comforts for terminal and intransit passengers. The other end of the building is given over to those departments, already mentioned, which are connected with regulation and control.

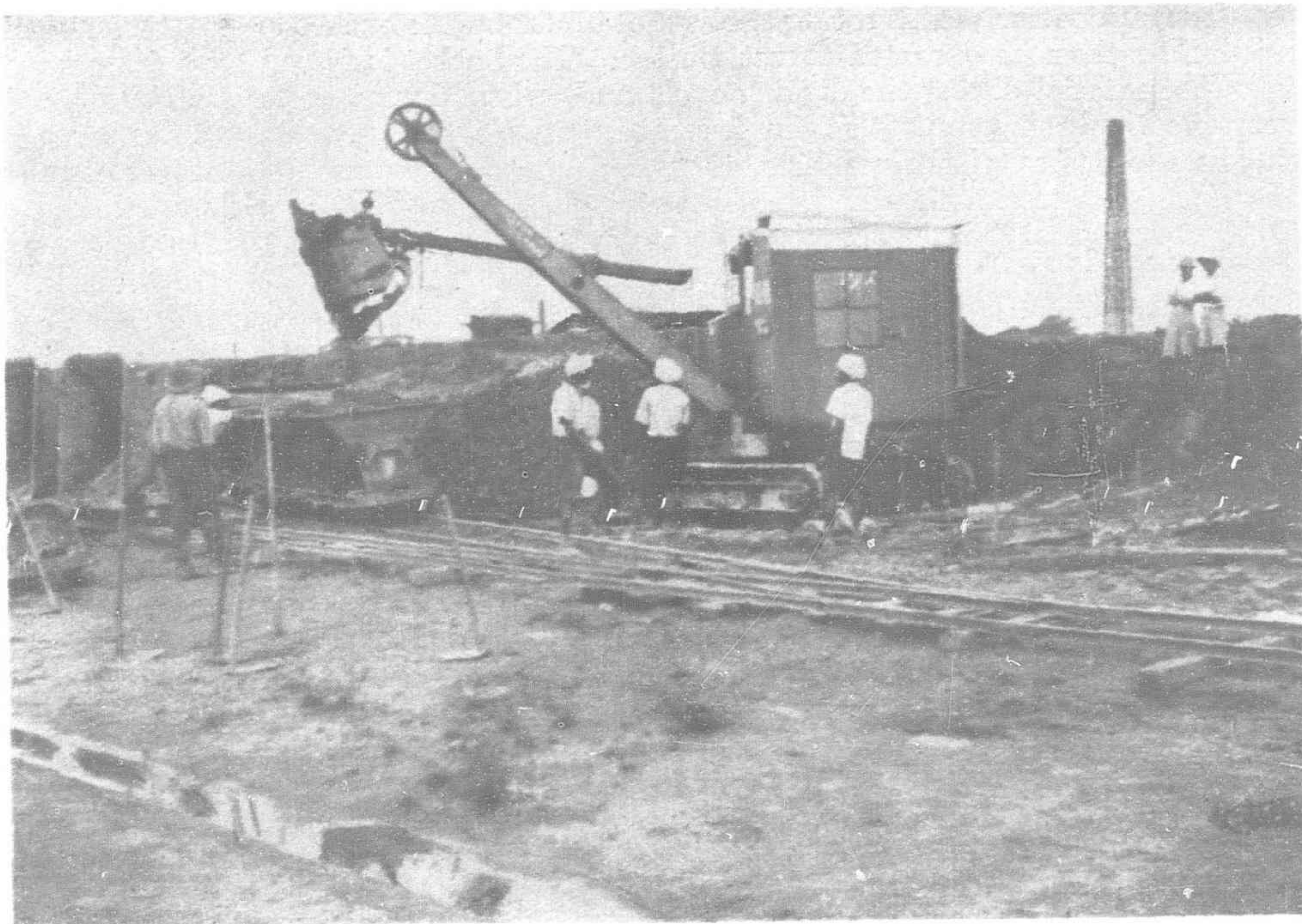
The work, which is being planned and executed departmentally by the resident engineer of the aerodrome under the control of the Director of Public Works of the Straits Settlements, is to be done by the end of 1936. The estimate expenditure, including buying the land, is approximately one million sterling.

Mechanical Excavators

Towards the end of 1931 it was decided to employ mechanical excavators for the excavation and loading of the material required for the reclamation of the site chosen for the Singapore Civil Aerodrome.

This work, which is still progressing, involves the excavation of hard compact clay containing a high percentage of coarse quartz gravel, the material is transported in three cubic yard wagons to the site of the aerodrome where it is dumped and consolidated.

For this purpose, after a full investigation, orders were placed in May, 1932, through the Crown Agents for the Colonies, for five Ruston-Bucyrus type 32-B electric shovels. These machines are equipped with one cubic yard buckets and 22-ft. 0-in. booms and are driven by single slipping motors



Ruston-Bucyrus shovel loading top soil at the reclamation site, Singapore Civil Aerodrome

suitable for an alternating current supply of 400-volts, 50-cycles, three-phase.

During the first eight months they were at work, each of these machines gave an average output per hour of 90 cubic yards. This figure having subsequently increased to 102 cubic yards per hour, the nature of the material excavated remaining unchanged.

A brief description of the more important features of the design and construction of these machines, which have made possible this highly satisfactory performance, may be of interest.

The lower and revolving frames are constructed of cast alloy steel. The caterpillar mounting with chain drive is exceptionally strong and accessible, the cast steel side frames, which carry the caterpillar tracks, are attached to the lower frame by large non-rotating axles, giving great rigidity and good ground clearance. Only one driving shaft and two gears are fitted below the revolving frame. These gears are totally enclosed and run in oil.

The operating machinery is bolted to the revolving frame casting, thus eliminating all risks of distortion and ensuring perfect and continuous alinement of gears. The machinery being grouped behind the center post, acts as a counterweight and eliminates unnecessary ballast. This produces a fast slewing motion and imposes a smaller duty on the slew machinery in starting and stopping.

The power is transmitted from the electric motor to the various motions through gears and outside band type clutches. The main transmission gears are silent, being totally enclosed and running in oil. Large oversized clutches are provided, giving easy, smooth and cool operation and reducing maintenance costs to a minimum. In addition, the two drum clutches are servo-operated.



Showing the diversion of the Geylang River in connection with the Aerodrome Work



Ruston-Bucyrus shovel working in a quarry obtaining spoil for filling for Singapore Aerodrome Site

The evacuation of this rather sticky material from the bucket is assured by the rope operated thrust motion. The bucket is forced into the material during the digging cycle and, when dumping, is very effectively shaken by this simple semi-automatic arrangement.

In the design of the machine, the very desirable features of simplicity and accessibility have not been overlooked, thus rendering it easy to maintain in first class working condition, which is so essential for continuous and trouble-free operation.

Where electric power is not available, petrol or diesel engines can be substituted for the electric motor.

The correct balance that has been maintained, in the design and construction of this machine, between weight, strength and power, is the secret of its ability to produce consistently high outputs at such low working costs.

The purchasers' appreciation of the satisfactory and economical working of these five machines is expressed by a recent repeat order for four more of identical size and type.

The accompanying photograph gives an excellent idea of the conditions under which these machines are operating. In addition to the shovels employed for loading the material for filling, the Authorities have purchased a smaller Ruston-Bucyrus machine, namely, the 10-RB $\frac{3}{8}$ cubic yard excavator for carrying out leveling on the actual site of the aerodrome. This machine is seen at work in the illustration.

TIN

(Continued from page 474)

The uses to which this tinplate is put are not very wide in scope. About 70 per cent is used by the oil companies, the remaining 30 per cent being taken up by egg-packers, lithographers, cigarette companies, canning factories and the open market.

The increasing use of electric light in the towns, it is added, is another factor that lessens the possibility of any immediate increase in tinplate consumption, but, from the tin producers' point of view, any loss here should be counterbalanced in part by the tin required in electrical equipment—a valuable source of tin demand.

It is impossible to deny that considerable progress is being made in industrialisation in China, and it may well be that the increasing use of tinplate in, for example, the canning factories, may offset any eventual decline in its use for packing oil.

Hongkong and South China

In Hongkong and South China, the volume of the tinplate trade does not seem to have varied greatly during the past ten years. There is no local production. In former years Hongkong imported colored and embossed tinplates, but owing to the low local labour costs, factories have recently been opened for dyeing and embossing tinplates. These plates are then made into various holders and containers—for envelopes, stationery, and feather dusters, etc.

Tinplates in Canton are chiefly used for the making of kerosene containers, for the canning industry and a negligible amount for lithographic work. The consumption by the canning industry approximates some 10,000 cases per annum.

Other Areas

Owing to the depression and the closing of oil distilleries in Swatow, the tinplate trade has shown a recession, the chief demand coming from the packers of biscuits and bean oil. In Amoy, there are two fruit and vegetable canning factories—the Amoy Canning Corporation and the Oriental Canning Corporation. The first-named is of some importance, consuming between 2,000 and 3,000 boxes of prime coke tinplate each year.

Foochow imports about 5,000 cases of tinplate annually; about 80 per cent is consumed by the tea trade, the balance being used for small local canneries and sundry household purposes. Small quantities are also demanded by Yunnanfu, being used for making lamps, food containers and military water bottles.

Chinese labour is cheaper than Japanese; but, at the moment, equipment and machinery are still inferior to Japanese. When this is realised more fully, China will be forced to purchase and install quantities of the most modern machinery and equipment, and it is easy to visualise a market for tin-consuming articles in that country of very great importance.

The Nanking Government is giving an impetus to this progress by its campaign to improve means of communication, both by rail and by road. From every province come reports of highways either completed or under construction, or planned. The first object of the Chinese authorities is to convert the mud tracks into roads for automotive traction; when this development is in a more advanced stage the demand for buses and commercial vehicles will be, in itself, an item of great interest to all producers of tin.

A Large Wagon Tippler for China

(Continued from page 475)

pair of bell cranks H with one arm of the lever linked to the cradle itself, while the other operates on the cam face H', shown separately, and built in practice into the foundations. Four springs K mounted on the girder E exert a force to start the cradle moving forward at the beginning of the tipping operation. To release the weight of the cradle acting on the hornstays of the wagon when in the tipping position a pair of pawls L mounted on the cross girders engage with a tooth rack M fastened to the cradle. This engagement takes place when the cradle has rotated through approximately 12 deg. and is controlled by the cam N. During tipping the wagon side is supported on a bolster composed of wooden blocks of approximately 3-ft. by 6-in. face and lapped like a brick wall. As each block is supported by three springs the pressure on the side of the wagon is more or less evenly taken and no damage is done to fittings or projecting details. A spill plate at the back of the bolster is run the full length of the tippler and is carried down to the cross beams to form a trough to catch coal should it spill in the early stages of tipping over the ends of low wagons. The coal is later tipped into the hopper when the wagon is in its final tipping position. To relieve shock the double bearing for the two-point rotation is mounted on thick demantine pads. During the tipping operation the wagon is automatically clamped by six clamping bars, each interlaced by a chain and ropes. One end is anchored to the main frame and the other to the balance weight, and an even twelve-point support is given to the top edges of the wagon to sustain it when it is in the tipped position, the clamping bars being free to slide through the main frame to adjust themselves to the heights of the wagons and are controlled by a roller acting on the cam face S.

The time required to tip and return is approximately 45 seconds up and 45 seconds down, and 90 seconds are required to change the wagons, representing twenty tips per hour. The hoisting drums are 42-in. in diameter. They are driven through steel spur gear and 21 to 1 totally enclosed worm gear and give a hoisting speed of 50-ft. per minute. The 75 h.p., 750 r.p.m. driving motor is a protected type fan-ventilated shunt-wound machine with interpoles. It operates at 230-volts, but the field coils are excited at 120-volts. Ward-Leonard control has been adopted and the motor generator set consists of a 65 kw, 230-volt, 960 r.p.m. compound-wound generator coupled to a 110 h.p., 960 r.p.m., 350-volt, three-phase, 50-cycle protected type slip-ring motor and a 8½ kw, 120-volt, 960 r.p.m. exciter, which provides the current necessary for the brake magnet and contactor coils in addition to that for the generator field.

Increased Steel Output

The South Manchuria Railway Company has applied, through the Kwantung Government, to the Overseas Affairs Ministry in Tokyo for its sanction to a plan to effect an increase in the production of the Showa Steel Works, formerly the Anshan Iron Works.

According to the program of the company, it is intended to bring up the manufacturing capacity of the steel works by 500,000 tons a year and to carry out the whole scheme in the course of two years, starting this work next year. It is estimated that Y.27,000,000 will be required to put the scheme into operation.

It is stated, however, that the central authorities' sanction for the new enterprise will be influenced greatly by the attitude of Japanese steel manufacturers, and it is feared in certain quarters that they may oppose the S.M.R.'s plan.

In view of this situation, it is understood, Count Hirota Hayashi, President of the S.M.R. Company, and Mr. Takuo Godo, President of the Showa Steel Works, are making a special effort to prevail upon the Japanese manufacturers to consent to their plan.

Engineering Notes

INDUSTRIAL

BREWERY FOR HARBIN.—Dai Nippon Brewery Company has filed an application with the authorities in Dairen for the establishment of a subsidiary brewery concern in Harbin, or other city in North Manchuria. The company is to be capitalized at Y.3,000,000.

FACTORY COMPLETED.—The construction of the building of the Central Machine Factory in Shanghai under the Ministry of Industries, which had been in progress for the past eight months was completed in August. According to Mr. Liu Wei-chi, vice-Minister of Industry, the establishment of 12 other large-scale machine factories is being planned by the Ministry.

TO AID FACTORIES.—At the request of merchants and industrialists in Tientsin, the Ministry of Finance has instructed the Tientsin Bankers' Association and the Tientsin Native Bankers' Guild to advise their member-banks to jointly extend loans for \$400,000 to factory-owners in Tientsin on the security of their factory assets.

MANCHOUKUO SUGAR.—A large company to be founded in Manchoukuo by Japanese sugar interests will be named the Manchuria Sugar Manufacturing Company, capitalized at Y.10,000,000. The new company will take over the South Manchuria Sugar Manufacturing Company, which has factories in Mukden and Tiehling, and also those of the Hulun Company in North Manchuria.

SUGAR FACTORY FOR FUKIEN.—In view of the rich production of sugar cane in Southern Fukien, the Fukien Provincial Government proposes to establish a large-scale sugar factory and refinery at Lungchi. The director of administration of Fukien has been instructed to secure an area of from 50,000 to 10,000 mow in the district of Man-an-Chang-pu and Lungchi (Southern Fukien) for cultivation of cane.

FACTORY IN KIANGSI.—It is learned that the National Economic Council has decided to appropriate a sum of \$1,000,000 to establish a large-scale factory in Kiangsi for the development of the staple industries in that province, such as paper, porcelain and earthenware, and tea. It is planned that branch offices of the projected factory will be established at Shanghai, Hankow and other places to promote the sale of these products both in China and abroad.

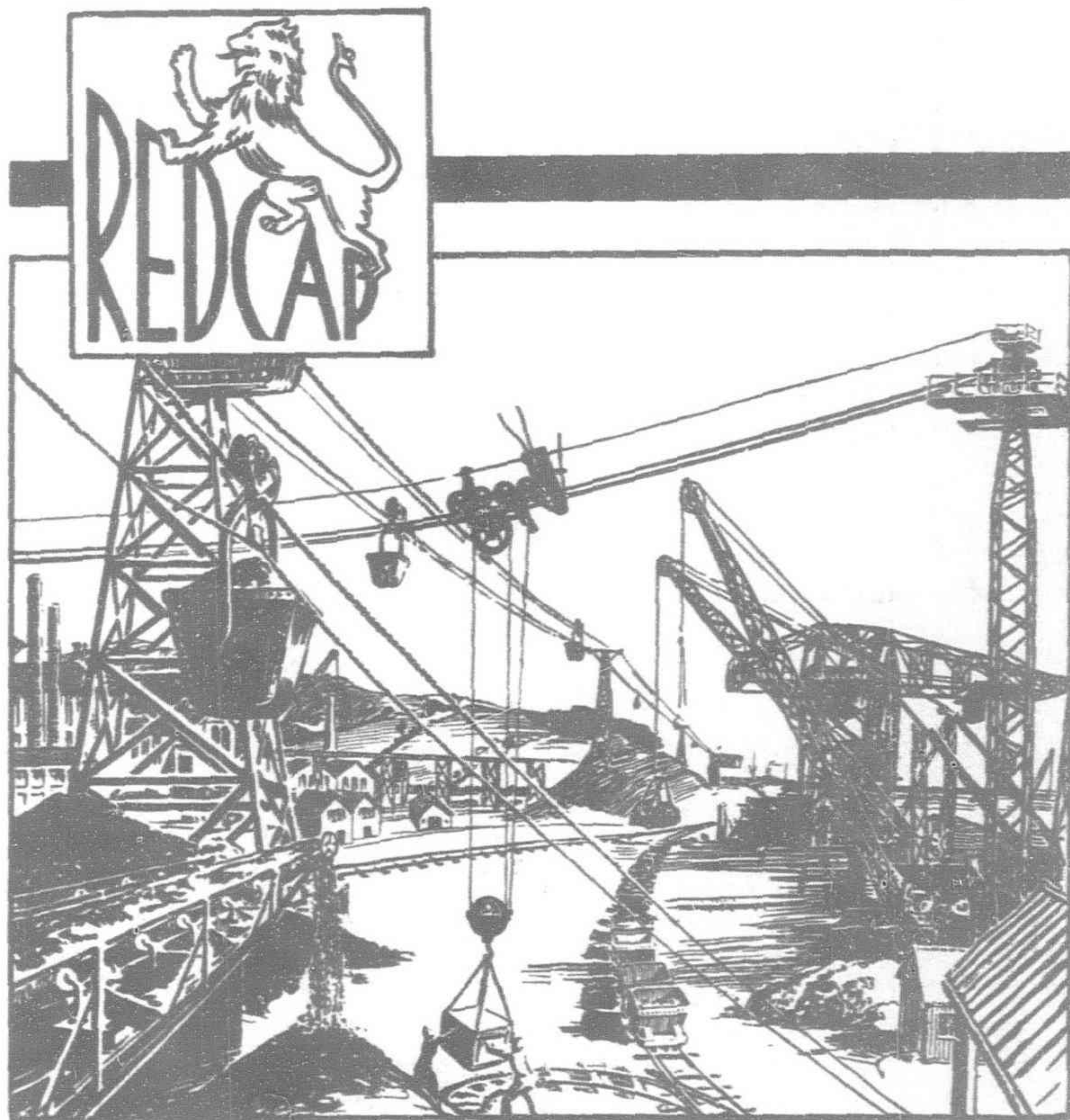
SITES FOR NEWSPRINT MILL.—Three possible sites on the Wu Kiang (River), about 20 miles from Wenchow, in Chekiang province, have been selected for the projected Central Newsprint Mill, according to Mr. Liu Yin-fu, Director of the Industrial Department of the Ministry of Industry. These three sites are all good, in view of their proximity to the timber supply and their convenient location for transportation. The final choice will be made after further discussion with the interested parties.

HYDRAULIC STATION.—Construction of the headquarters of the First National Hydraulic Experimental Station in Tientsin has been completed. Work of the station is under the direct supervision of the National Economic Council. The station will undertake experiments which aim at bringing the various rivers in North China under control. These experiments, it is stated, will take two years to complete.

MOTOR-CAR FACTORY.—The Nanking Ministry of Industries has submitted a detailed plan to the Government for the establishment of a motor-car works.

PURCHASES BY CHINA.—A report on the British textile machinery industry states that exports to China, after declining to 2,560 tons in 1933, recovered to 4,801 tons in 1934. In view of the success of the cotton industry in China, and particularly of British-owned mills established there, this market for textile machinery will probably continue to increase in importance. The Japanese are also extending their Chinese mills, and it is possible that some of the loss in trade in consumers' goods may be made up by sales of producers' goods, even to the Japanese.

SIAMESE ENTERPRISES.—Government has expressed its willingness to forward the manufacture of paper in Siam by taking a large share of the capital. Tenders were invited some time ago for the erection of a mill, and it is anticipated that from signing of the contract to the putting of the product on the market a period of two years may elapse. Government participation in this paper mill venture has led the promoters of a sugar refinery to seek State-aid in their promotion. It is stated that Government may become interested to the extent of 25 per cent of the capital. Time was when Siam exported more sugar than rice, and the promoters of the first refinery on modern lines hope to recover some of the lost trade.

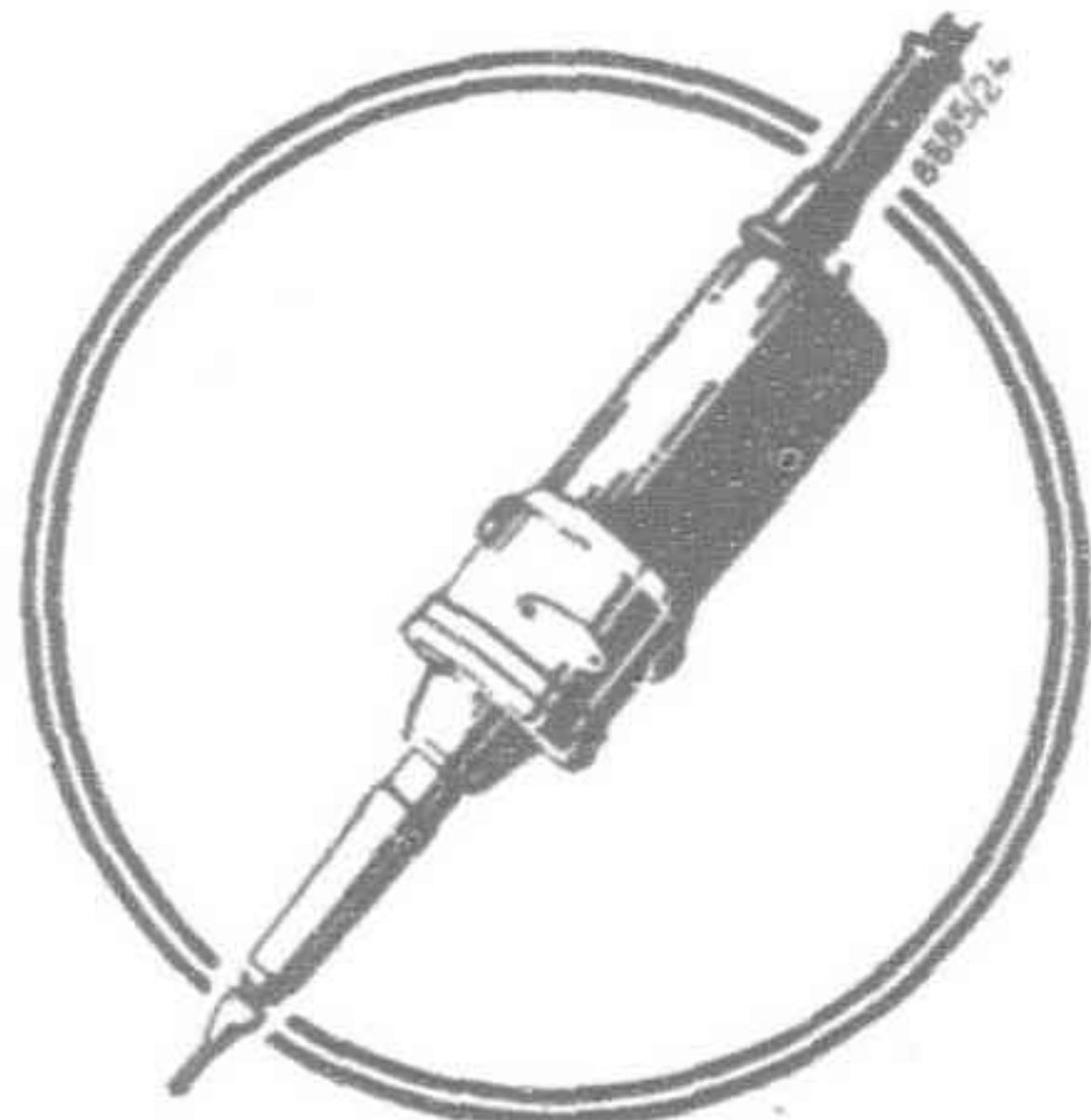


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MINING

ANHWEI IRON MINES.—The Ministry of Industry has decided, in accordance with the provisions of the Mining Law, to convert a number of iron mines at Tungkuan Shan (Mountain) situated in south-eastern Anhwei, into State enterprises. The mines in question cover an area of 219 hectares.

CONTROL OVER WOLFRAM.—In order to develop the wolfram mining industry the Kiangsi Provincial Government has decided to exercise centralized control over export and transport of the ores. An agreement, entrusting the Yu Min Bank with the transport and sale of wolfram, has been signed by the Provincial Wolfram Bureau and the Bank, with the approval of the Provincial Government.

TAX ON ZINC ORE.—The Ministry of Finance of Chekiang has ordered the Mining Tax Bureau to impose a mining tax of 34.00 per metric ton on zinc ore produced in Chekiang. Zinc deposits were recently discovered and extensive mining operations started at Chukihsien, south of Hangchow, by the Kung Ta Mining Corporation. The ores have been transported to Shanghai, via the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway, for sale. The market price for zinc ore at present is about \$80 per metric ton, so that the tax represents five per cent *ad valorem*.

CHINGCHI IRON MINES.—A petition for the re-opening of the iron mines in Chingchi, Kuichow province, has been submitted to the Provincial Department of Reconstruction by a group of local industrialists headed by Mr. Yang Hsi-huang. Chingchi district is stated to be rich in iron, the quality of the ore surpassing that in Tayeh, the iron mining center near Hanyang, southern Hupeh. In view of the rich deposits, the defunct Ching dynasty regime expended over one million taels for the development of the mines, but owing to mismanagement, nothing was accomplished and the project abandoned 30 years ago.

MINING IN FORMOSA.—Japan Aluminium Reduction Company, Formosa, was to be founded June 21, under joint investment of the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and other business concerns. Capitalization is Y.10,000,000, a quarter paid up. The company's factory will be erected in Takao, Formosa.

COMMUNICATIONS

TIME BY RADIO.—To standardize the nation's railway time, the Ministry of Railways will broadcast the correct time of the Central Meteorological Station to all railroad stations through its own wireless station once every day.

RADIOPHONE TESTS.—Successful completion of initial radiophone tests between the Chenju Radio Station, near Shanghai, and the Nazaki and Komuro stations of the Nippon Wireless Telephone Company near Tokyo, was reported.

TSINGTAO-CHEFOO HIGHWAY.—A highway girding the sea-coast from Tsingtao, eastern Shantung, to Chefoo, north-eastern Shantung, is being completed by the Shantung Provincial Department of Reconstruction. The entire road is expected to be finished by the middle of June.

COMMUNICATIONS IN KWANGTUNG.—A total of over 37,000 *li* (more than 12,300 miles) of highways has been completed in Kwangtung province. A long-distance telephone system covering a distance of 40,000 *li* (about 13,000 miles) is now in operation.

CONNECTING STATION.—For the purpose of facilitating through transportation of passengers and freight south of the Yangtze River, a connecting station has been jointly established by the Tientsin-Pukow, the Nanking-Shanghai and the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railways on the southern bank of the River.

HIGHWAYS IN HUNAN.—A total of 630 *li* (210 miles) of highways, at a cost of \$302,000, has been constructed in south-eastern Hunan to facilitate bandit-suppression operations, according to General Liu Chien-hsu, Pacification Commissioner of western Hunan, who was formerly Director of the Highway Bureau attached to the Hunan Provincial Bandit-Suppression Forces.

TELEPHONE SERVICE OPENED.—The newly installed Hopei-Shantung Inter-Provincial long-distance telephone line between Tientsin and Tsinan has been officially opened. The inauguration of the service will mark a new stage in the history of communications in North China, as the new line will link up the existing Peiping-Tientsin and Tsinan-Tsingtao long-distance telephone services.

TELEPHONES IN SHANTUNG.—Under the auspices of the Provincial Department of Reconstruction, a conference of the Directors of Long-distance Telephone Bureaux throughout Shantung province was held at Tsinan to consider measures for promotion of the service. The long-distance telephone system is spread out over a total mileage of 100,000 *li* (more than 33,000 miles) in the province. There are more than 110 branch telephone bureaux and the monthly receipts exceed \$20,000.

ORDER FOR BRIDGE.—Dorman Long & Co., Ltd., has secured the contract for the combined rail and road bridge over the Tsientang or Chien Tang River at Zahow, near Hangchow. The bridge, which will require about 4,200 tons of steel, will consist of 16 spans, each of 216-ft. length, and is designed to carry a single track railway on the lower deck, and a 20-ft. road and two pedestrian ways on the upper deck. This bridge will replace a ferry and link up the line from Ningpo with the Shanghai-Hangchow section of the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway, and also with the Hangchow-Kiangshan provincial railway which will be part of the Canton-Shanghai through route, now under construction.

SULZER

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SHANGHAI ENGINEERING OFFICE

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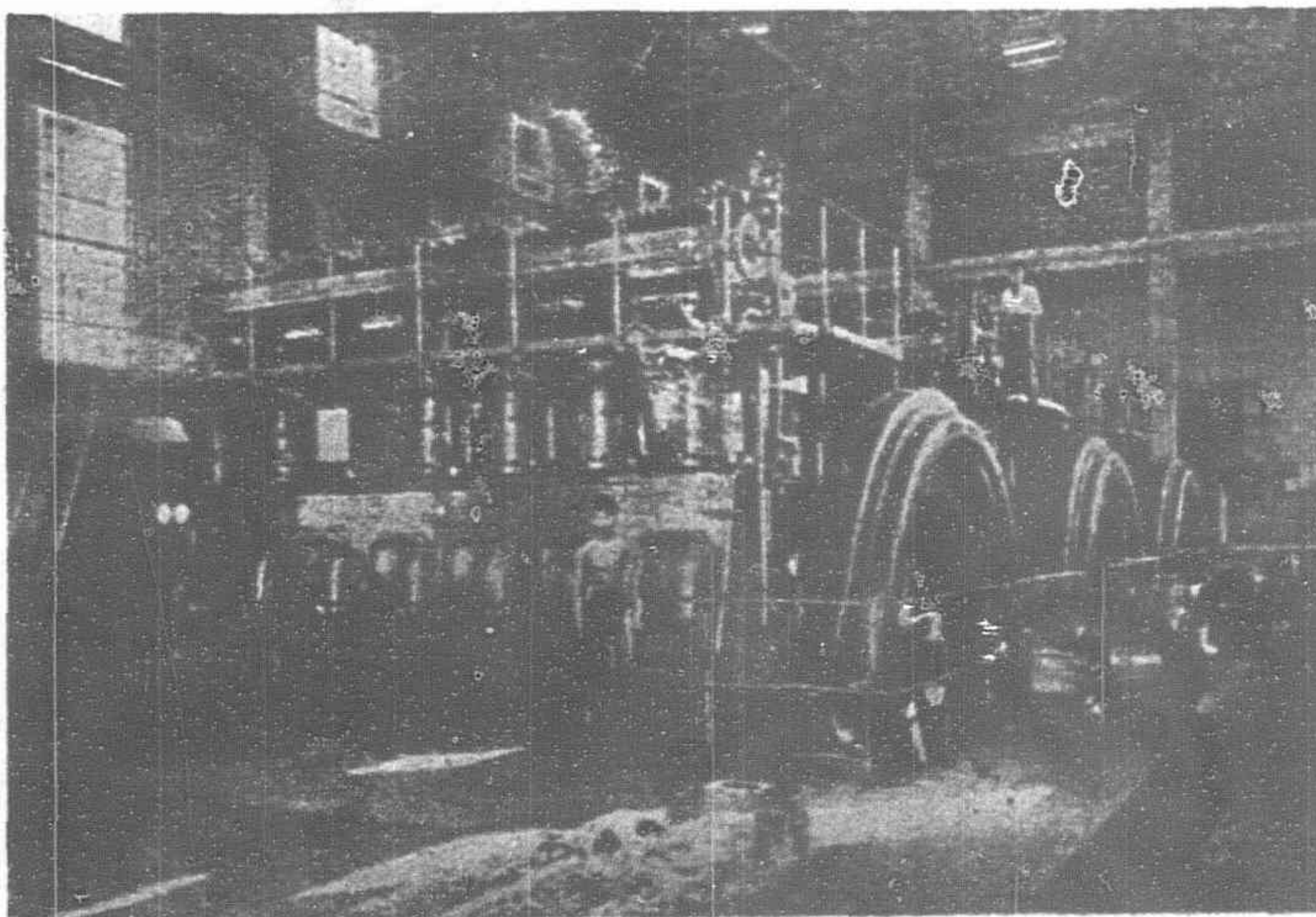
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